GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

CENTRAL
ARCHÆOLOGICAL
LIBRARY

ACCESSION NO. 14167

CALL No. 938.07/Ruf.

D.G.A. 79.



ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

From a Coin in the collection of John Foy Edgar

Published [illegible] by [illegible]

THE

HISTORY

OF

THE LIFE AND REIGN

OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

BY

QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS.

Translated from the Latin.

WITH SUPPLEMENTS, NOTES, AND A MAP.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR SAMUEL BAGSTER, THE STRAND,

By James Moyes, Greville Street, Hatton Garden.

1809.

Acc. No. 14167
Date 10-2-1961
Call No 928.07/Rig Vol. I.

PREFACE.

THE life of Alexander, as transmitted by ancient writers—while the subject, and fulness, of detail, in each, differ as much as biography, annals, and history—is, in all, an extraordinary field of incident. Quintus Curtius, while exhibiting the progress of a mighty transition of power, has mixed, with the minutes of the council, and the journal of the camp, sketches of biography which lead to a knowledge of man.

The middle-part of the narrative, and route, of the Macedonian expedition to the East, possesses new interest, on account of Buonaparte's designs on Persia: his proclaimed invasion of India, if any thing more than a machination to induce the Porte, as well as the Court of Tuhran, to permit his occupation of important possessions, is a distant object. Alexander subjugated as he went: we may calculate that Buonaparte will follow an example from which deviation would be unsafe, without expecting him to draw his catalogue of means from a magnanimous school. A French army introduced into Persia—a revolution in the palace at Tuhran

—the new protectors of the independence of Persia permanently seated there.

The policy by which Alexander, with an inferior fleet, deprived Darius of a navy*, is another interesting subject of examination; as it is possible that Buonaparte imagines that he is imitating it. If he discover a resemblance between the foundation of the naval power of ancient Persia, and that of Britain, he possesses creative discernment. Deterred by the scruples of a strange superstition from navigating at sea, the Persians, nevertheless, commanded a formidable marine, composed of tributary or mercenary fleets, from Rhodes and Cyprus, Tyre and Sidon: the first successes of the Macedonians weakened the influence of Darius over these naval states: The intermediate progress of the invaders excluded him from vicinity, or any other than a precarious correspondence, with maritime powers, while he yet controlled the greater portion of the continent.

An intrepid reasoner, determined to establish a parallel between the victorious Macedonian and Buonaparte, may tread convincing ground, by imitating Shakspeare's model †.

Fluellen. I think it is in Macedon where Alexander is porn: I tell you, captain! if you look into the

* Vol. I. p. 230, line *antepenult.* p. 251.

† K. Henry V. act iv. scene 13.

maps of the orld, I warrant that you sall find, in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, that the situations, look you, is both alike. There is a river in Macedon, there is also moreover a river in Monmouth, but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river; but it is all one, 'tis as like as my fingers to my fingers, and there is salmons in both.

In the same manner, any peacemaker, who will insist upon agreement between the situations of the French emperor and the great Persian king destitute of a fleet, may suppress circumstances resisting accommodation, and embody coincident shadows.

Why does Buonaparte, as far as he can grasp the coast of Europe, arrest the prow of neutral commerce; and influence the governments of maritime countries to annihilate the navigator and merchant? In offering motives for his prohibitions, it is impossible to reason, and difficult to make two consistent remarks. He may not so much expect to deaden one of the sinews of Britain, as to paralyse Russia and other defeated powers. They cannot recruit their strength; while he, by secret licenses, may throw such trade as he is constrained to permit, into the ports of countries whence his own revenues arise.

Alexander did not suppress commerce, as the medium of more intelligence than he willed should circulate in vassal states. He extended the free harbour,

and protected the many-languaged exchange; sensible that the intercourse of nations wears lingering ferocities from the emerging Barbarian, and distributes over the habitable world the blessings of humanized life. It may be questioned, on a ground which will not affect the character of his intentions, whether he had traced ALL the enlarged and accurately-combined plans latterly ascribed to him. By what revelation did he rise superior to the dark and erroneous notions of Nearchus *, respecting the gulf of Arabia and the country South of the Isthmus of Suez? and no person who entertained them, could project such establishments on the Red Sea, as the First and Second Ptolemy effected. Arrian has recorded a strange misapprehension of Alexander: —When observation was destitute of topical aids, a sagacious traveller might measure a large portion of the earth's surface, without acquiring the true relation of the regions visited:—The Macedonian leader, from observing alligators in the Indus, and beans like those produced in Egypt growing on the banks of the Acesines, had announced, in a letter to his mother, that he had discovered the sources of the Nile; information which he expunged, when the natives, in answer to his inquiries, assured him that the Indus fell into the ocean very far from Egypt. Perhaps his route, from the Delta of

* Arrian, *Indica*, chap. xliii.

the Nile, had appeared to him, having no compass to determine the bearings, to sweep nearly in a circle *.

The Translator does not recollect, that his Author has once prostituted the epithet "divine" by applying it to his hero, or sunk into a fulsome competition with the Greek sycophants: This might be the place for a protest, had not the historian acknowledged the perplexity of Alexander's character. Does a deed merit censure or execration? Curtius has no partiality. Is admiration due? His pen, recently so severe, knows no antipathy, fluent in applauding great and good actions.

What will compensate for the destruction of two books of the history of Curtius, and for chasms in separate chapters? Not all the essays of all his commentators. Other classic writers, whose antiquity is incontestable, have escaped oblivion by a slighter intervention, as it respects the number of manuscripts preserved; but have been more fortunate in retaining, to this day, the identity of fame, commemorated by personal notices—or, have left works which excite a less poignant curiosity respecting the authors.

With the two books, and introductory matter, may have perished information relating to Curtius,—a dedication, or allusions, which would have fixed his contem-

* Arrian, *History of Alexander's Expedition*, b. vi. chap. 1.

poraries. In the progress of the narrative, he observes, that Tyre, when he was writing, enjoyed security under the protection of Rome *; and that the different branches of the Macedonian kings had been deprived of their dominions by the Romans †: These notices declare the era of the author to be subsequent to the accession of the second Cæsar. Another guide to inquiry, is an allusion to the emperor who was reigning when the last book was composed: "It is therefore with due "gratitude, that the Roman people ascribe their salva- "tion to their prince; who, on the night which we had "nearly dated as our last, shone on us a new star. In- "contestably, the rising of this, not of the day ‡, re- "stored light to the shadowed world, when the divided "members of the state were trembling without a head. "How many firebrands did he extinguish! how many "swords sheathe! what a tempest dissipate by inter- "posed serenity! Hence the reinvigorated empire "flourishes. May envy never touch him; may he "live through the age; be his house established, his "line perpetual ||."

* B. IV. iv. 19. † B. VIII. vi. 21.

‡ *Hujus, non solis.* In the rendering offered in the history, *non* is treated as a corruption of *novi*. See another construction of this difficult passage in page xiii. infra. On the above, however, the Translator is disposed to rely, as sufficiently literal.

|| B. X. ii. 23.

The principal applications made of this by different commentators, will be presently stated. Before the probability of each can be weighed, the passage must be considered in connexion with the incidental mention—by Cicero, by Tacitus and Pliny, and by Suetonius—of individuals of the name of Curtius. The addition, found in most of the older manuscripts, of the surname "Rufus," claims a share of attention, as well the opinion pronounced by classical critics, that in purity, elegance, and terseness, the historian's style is worthy of the golden age of latinity.

Cicero, in a letter to his brother Quintus, speaking of expected candidates for the consulship, their adherents and opponents, mentions a Quintus Curtius as a young man of integrity and erudition *.—Men do not commonly live an hundred years:—the Quintus Curtius Rufus of Tacitus and Pliny, is therefore, probably, a distinct person from that slightly introduced to us by Cicero. Their accounts are the same in effect †: "Curtius Rufus, in early life, attended a quæstor into "Africa. In the city of Adrumetium, while he was "sitting protected by a portico, from the mid-day "sun, the form of a woman, above the human size, "addressed him: 'You, Rufus! are destined to

* *Ep. ad Quintum*, III. 2.

† Tacitus, *Annals*, XI. 21. Plin. Ep. VII. 27.

" come hereafter into this province with proconsular " authority.' Animated, he returned to Rome; " and, by interest and active intrigue, obtained the " quæstorship. He afterwards succeeded, against com- " petitors of distinguished rank, in a struggle for the " dignity of prætor, supported by the suffrage of Ti- " berius. *Curtius Rufus*, said that emperor, blending " a compliment to his favourite candidate with an apo- " logy for his mean extraction, *seems to be a man* " *sprung from himself*. At a late period of life, he ob- " tained the consular and triumphal ensigns, and finally " went proconsul into Africa, where he finished his " days."— In the field of exhausted research, is found a scanty memorial of a third individual, who may be the same with the historian of Alexander the Great. This appears in the memoir left by Suetonius of celebrated orators *, which time has reduced to a fragment. In the summary of contents to each MS. intermixed with the names of the pleaders or rhetoricians, of whom the extant sections transmit particular accounts, are enumerated eleven individuals of whom no trace remains in the mutilated book. Quintus Curtius Rufus is the third, M. Fabius Quintilianus the tenth, among

* *De Rhetorebus.* SUETONIUS. The known offices of some of his *rhetores* shows, that the term will embrace the public orator and the professor of eloquence.

the less fortunate eleven. Whoever this Curtius was, Suetonius introduced him into good company; we recognise, in one of the earlier characters preserved, that Crassus, of whom Cicero said: "I had rather be the "author of the single oration of Crassus, in defence of "Curius, than be honoured with two Ligurian tri-"umphs*."

The gratulatory encomium, penned by Curtius for the reigning emperor, is applied, by the commentators Frisius and Herwartus, to Augustus; and their opinion, I believe, as well as that of Angelus, identifies the historian with the Quintus Curtius mentioned by Cicero. How does the serenity of the passage correspond with the state of Rome after the death of Julius Cæsar? Augustus unsheathed the sword, kindled the torch, and excited the tempest, of civil war†. His competitors fell, and tranquillity followed his triumph. "Peace, "it is true, was soon after established: but what kind of "peace! The slaughter of Lollius and Varus stained "it in Germany; and the massacre of the Varros, the "Egnatii, and the Julii, made Rome a theatre of "blood‡."

In the judgment of Raderus, Popma, and Perizonius,—the emperor alluded to, is Tiberius; and the

* Brutus. † Le Tellier's *Preface* to his edition of Curtius.

‡ Murphy's Tacitus, *Annals*, I. 10.

African proconsul of Tacitus is one person with the orator of Suetonius and our historian. But the circumstances leading to the accession of Tiberius, form a picture of repose*. There was no storm, or darkness, to be dissipated by the new sovereign as by a rising sun. Nor, to cite a stricture of the learned Casaubon, does the historian appear to have any thing in common with the proconsul.

Before noticing how fully circumstances attending the emperor Claudius coincide with the citation from Curtius, let us survey the grounds upon which conjecture has resorted to Vespasian and Trajan. Connected with the subject is a minute question respecting the import of the word "night:"—Does not, however, the subjoined phrase, "which we had nearly dated as "our last," decide it to be literal; for conceive it to be a figure for "a time of calamity," and the congratulation becomes absurd, as the Roman people would not be desirous of a second metaphoric night. On the contrary, a great perplexity is found in another part of the passage, if it be not figurative; and the commentators Rutgersius and Loccenius, are embarrassed by applying the word "star," literally, to one of the celestial bodies. For this servile construction, they compensate by a violent implication, proceeding to read:

* Tacitus, Annals, I. 11—13.

" Incontestably, the rising of this [moon], not of th " sun, restored light to the shadowed world." The new star is not a trope for the prince unexpectedly installed, but is the moon suddenly rising, during a nocturnal engagement, fought near Cremona, between the armies of Vespasian and Vitellius. " While the bat- " tle remained doubtful, the night being far advanced, " the moon rose, and illuminated the surface of things, " with partial advantage to Vespasian's army. The " light, shining at the back of their lines, projected " from the men and horses such long shadows, that the " Vitellians, deceived by appearances, aimed at the " wrong object: their darts, consequently, fell short:— " but the moon-beams, playing on the front of the Vi- " tellians, exposed their bodies to the full view of their " adversaries*." Vossius and Freinshemius concur in discovering, in Curtius, a retrospect to the accession of Vespasian; but these give the " new star " an unforced relation, as a figure for the emperor intended. Almost every feature in the history of Vespasian, must increase the surprise which the suggestion of the four last-named commentators, however modified, is calculated to excite. He did not gain the victory in person; his elevation to the throne occurred at a time long subsequent, and the barbarities and horrors of intestine war deformed the turbulent interval.

* Tacitus, *Histor.* III. 23.

Nearly the same considerations which have excluded Tiberius, apply to Trajan, with these additional objections, that the latter emperor was destitute of offspring, and that in his reign, Latin composition had descended far in its decline. The silence of Quintilian respecting Curtius has been the solitary inducement, with one or two critics, in defiance of outnumbering reasons, to postpone the era of the historian to the reign of Trajan. The silence of Quintilian respecting the elegant historian Velleius Paterculus, who is known to have lived under Tiberius, proves that his silence respecting Curtius should have no influence whatever against a train of circumstantial deductions.

It appears, from the narrative of Josephus*, that the single night which passed between the assassination of Caligula by conspirators and the unpremeditated elevation of Claudius, was an interval of hasty debate, hostile defiance, confusion, and terror; during which, the senate, and the opposed members of the state, were trembling without a head. Had the nobles who asserted rival pretensions to the throne, and the desperate factions who impatiently aimed to abolish the imperial government, come to the promiscuous conflict which was impending, embrued Rome had been sternly desolated. Again; after Claudius was saluted emperor, when the soldiers supporting him prepared, with uplifted weapons,

* *Antiquities*, ch. xix. 3, 4.

to kill the consul Quintus Pomponius, because he had exhorted the senate to recover their liberty, Claudius, interposing, snatched the consul out of peril, and seated him at his side. How many firebrands did the new sovereign extinguish, how many swords sheathe, what a tempest dissipate, by this moderation! To the senate, this eventful night had nearly proved the last, and the influence of Claudius alone prevented the members, making a late submission, from falling victims to the enraged army.

The merit of thus appropriating the cited passage, belongs chiefly to the commentators, Lipsius, Brissonius, and Le Tellier. When the historian of Alexander the Great is admitted a contemporary of Claudius, an identity may be inferred between him and the Q. Curtius Rufus of Suetonius. The order, in the biographic fragment of illustrious orators, is that of time; and it has been gleaned from another source, that M. Portius Latro, whose name is second in the bare list of names, died of a quartan ague in the fortieth year of Augustus: thence to the accession of Claudius intervened thirty years:—The orator or rhetorician Curtius, who follows Latro, whether as a junior contemporary, or as belonging to the next generation, may reasonably be supposed to have lived till the beginning of the reign of Claudius. This conclusion has the sanction of Casaubon, and in full unison with a recommendation, by

Erasmus, of the history of Curtius, as a repertory of formulas of eloquence not to be found in Cicero.

A separation of the remaining subjects of this long Preface, will enable the reader to act according to his view of their importance.

SILENCE OF ANCIENT AUTHORS RESPECTING THE HISTORY WRITTEN BY CURTIUS, CONJECTURALLY EXPLAINED.

Was the history suppressed, by an act of the Senate, because the first two books contained offensive political reflections? That which in the shape of information had been credible, may deserve to be mentioned among conjectures. But inquiry flies to other mere probabilities. How would the moral independence with which Curtius writes, be received in the court of the Cæsars? The private character of Claudius is as little stained as that of any of the pagan emperors except Antonine: but the almost Christian rectitude * which condemns the degeneracies of Alexander, must have displeased Nero and many of his successors. Anecdotes related by Suetonius, attest, that at Rome, the temple of fame was not far distant from the cave of oblivion:—Caligula permitted the historical writings of Titus Labienus, Cordus

* Romans, ii. 14.

Cremutius, and Cassius Severus, which had been proscribed by the Senate, to be universally circulated; and afterwards the august critic was preparing to banish the works of Virgil and Livy from public and private libraries: Domitian condemned to death Hermogenes of Tarsus for oblique reflections in his history, and crucified the clerks who had transcribed it *.

I shall now endeavour impartially to collect facts opposing, and facts countenancing, another conjecture, that the history written by Curtius was suppressed, through a political jealousy of Alexander's fame, connected with a creed, useful in the legions, that Roman triumphs were greater than other triumphs. Augustus spared Alexandria, from veneration for its founder: deposited flowers and a golden crown on his sarcophagus: and, in the middle-part of his reign, used a seal with the head of Alexander. The whimsical despot Caligula sometimes wore his breastplate: Nero, whose conduct is far less a criterion of state policy, named a new Italian legion the phalanx of Alexander †. From Nero's reign to Trajan's I do not know that any expression in honour of the Macedonian escaped any of the emperors. For the most part the Roman classics are not liberal to

* *In Caligul.* c. 16, 34. *In Domit.* c. 10.

† Dion Cassius, l. 51. Suetonius, *in C. August.* c. 18, 50. Idem, *in Caligul.* c. 52. Idem, *in Neron.* c. 19.

the ancient fame of subdued tributaries. When Curtius wrote, the servitude of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt, was growing mature,—but a government entrenched in jealous maxims might see, in a LATIN history of Alexander, an innovation calculated to awaken the national ambition of those provinces; an adoption from "Lying Greek Fable," which would restore it to credit and lustre. The imperial legions had suffered severe defeats from the Parthians: and although the latter had, early, seized the divided Greek kingdom of Bactriana, and had driven the later Seleucidæ over the Euphrates, yet their military successes might be regarded as flowing from Macedonian institutions not altogether ceasing to operate in the East. That, in the Roman school of politics, these subjects had some connexion, appears from Livy*:—In a digression to prove, that his country, in the time of Alexander, possessed a band of military commanders, of whom any one was equal to that conqueror in genius, in resources, in intrepidity, and superior in some qualities of a leader,—Livy complains, that the silliest of the Greeks are fond of exalting the reputation even of the Parthians, at the expense of the Roman name. Parthian coins attest, that there was a bond of good-will and mutual estimation between the Parthians and the Greeks†. Horace immortalizes the

* Lib. IX. 17, 18. † Pinkerton, *on Medals*, vol. ii.

extravagance of Parthian fiction, to discredit their victories or claims of dominion*. If, within four centuries of the present time, a prince of Irak bore the name Askander,—eighteen centuries ago the Parthian sovereigns might affect to be successors of the Macedonian. —Time abated all jealousy of Alexander's fame. Trajan, after subduing the Parthians, professed a consistent admiration of Alexander, and was restrained only by his advanced age from emulating him in the conquest of India†: In the following reign, Arrian wrote his *Expedition* of Alexander under the auspices of Hadrian; and the emperor expended his heroic fire in an *Alexandreid*, which has perished. The Macedonian coins, struck under the Roman government, perpetuate vestiges of invidious policy and subsequent generosity. Early specimens correspond with the partition of Macedon into four districts‡: The conquering state honoured its own greatness, when the vanquished were permitted to impress on their coins and funeral medals—the *Taming of Bucephalus*; the *Encounter with the chased Lion*; the *Head of Alexander radiated*; and other memorials of their ancient king. Eckhel, on strong grounds, contends, that the Macedonian coins under the Roman government, first received these devices during the op-

* *Ep.* II. 1, l. 112. † *Vincent* after *Xiphilinus.*

‡ *Doctrina numorum veterum*, vol. ii. p. 63.

portunity given when Caracalla was styling Alexander the Eastern Augustus, affecting to be himself another Alexander, and multiplying medals and monuments of ambitious insanity *. Pellerine had supposed that permission to strike these coins was deliberately granted to the Macedonian community by the enlightened Alexander Severus. Meanwhile, the work of Curtius, if it had been politically buried, could not burst into day as soon as its appearance would be tolerated.

* *Ibid*, p. 111. The date "ϵOC" which a few specimens bear, is an uncertain guide, because it cannot be decided from what epoch the year 275 should be reckoned. To make it coincide with any part of the reign of Caracalla or Alexander Severus, is to assume a beginning for the series when nothing occurred that could be an epoch to the Macedonians. As a stranger to antiquarian studies, I hesitate to point out the year A. C. 167, as the epoch: at which time the Romans, while they provided for the provincial subservience of Macedon, declared it an independent commonwealth. The 275th anniversary of this new settlement of the state, corresponds with the tenth year of Trajan. In comparing the workmanship of imperial coins under Trajan with that of Macedonian coins with the date "ϵOC," I am not aware of any error in considering, that, up to an era later than Trajan's, the workmanship of Greek coins, struck at the same time with Roman, would be superior; and that as artists were attracted from Greece to Rome by the more liberal means of remuneration, the execution would here improve, and there decline, till the ratio of superiority became inverted. My most handsome acknowledgments are due to Mr. Edgar, who po-

There is a distinct cause, sufficient to entomb a manuscript for years or for ages—posthumous publication unduly postponed, or not performed by the parties to whom it was confided. To this Dr. Bentley attributes the long dormancy of the astronomical poem of Manilius. The accurate History, by Babour, of his own life and actions, remained in obscurity till the middle of the reign of his grandson Acbur*. The papers left in the closet of Peiresc supplied his heirs with a whole winter's fuel; and many of the labours of the learned Bishop Lloyd were consumed in the kitchen of his descendants. The history, by Swift, of the last years of Queen Ann, had perished through the negligence of his executors, had not a straggling manuscript fallen into active hands†.

EARLIEST NOTICE OF CURTIUS——ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS.

Petrus Blæsensis, writing about 1150, notices, that Curtius was then used in the schools. In the same century, was composed the *Alexandreid* of Gualterus

litely lent me a scarce coin from his collection; and I believe I may say that this suggestion is sanctioned by his concurrence.

* Davy's Letter on the authenticity of the *Institutes* of Timour.

† Idler, No. 65.

Belga, which is a versification of the history transmitted by Curtius, even to the adoption of his words. The resurrection of Curtius from the dust of a library must have taken place at least as far back as the year 900, because in 1702, according to the testimony of Montfaucon, the Colbertine manuscript was above eight hundred years old. Perhaps this, and the manuscript in the collection of the Medici, adjudged by Lucas Holstenius, in the preceding century, to be seven hundred years old, with a few other venerable time-worn relicks, are transcripts of a mutilated original.

SUPPLEMENT BY FREINSHEMIUS.

The attempt of Brunus to fill up the chasms in the history, has been superseded by the masterly compilation of John Freinshem, better known by the latinized name Freinshemius. A native of Ulm, the latter died in 1660, aged about fifty-two. Among his well-received labours are to be recounted——Notes on Florus; Supplements to Livy; Notes, and Supplements, to Tacitus. His commentary on Curtius maintains an eminent character; and his supplement has so far satisfied critical judges, by its elegance and erudition, by the appropriate connection of the first two books, and

happy intervention of small sections in the fifth, sixth, and tenth, as to gain admission into the Latin editions of subsequent commentators; and it has been followed as an authentic basis by translators. Thus we are introduced to the middle and end of Alexander's life and actions, by a luminous beginning. As, however, the extant books of Curtius transmit full and interesting details not to be found elsewhere,—the liberal derivation from other sources, substituted for what is lost, is a subject of consolation, not of congratulation.

In the introduction, Freinshemius, among reflections for Curtius finely imagined, adopts a sentiment from the Preface of Arrian, that Ptolemy, because he was a king, and had survived Alexander, was free from inducements to misrepresentation. A word dropped by Curtius*, would lead us to expect, in the enumeration of original authorities, a more discriminating and qualified tribute to Ptolemy. The first Greek king of Egypt was interested in justifying the division of the Macedonian empire, and, as far as we collect from Arrian, omitted to record the gift of the signet to Perdiccas. This consideration probably weighed with Curtius, when he deliberately adopted a different account.

* *Translation*, vol. ii. p. 335.

FORMER ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS——THE PRESENT TRANSLATION.

There have been four translations of Curtius in English. The first, by Robert Brende: was printed at London, *quarto*, 1553, 1561; *octavo*, 1570; *quarto*, 1584, 1592, 1614. The next version, by Robert Codrington, had three editions: London, *quarto*, 1652; *duodecimo*, 1670, 1675. The third English Curtius was the work of several hands; with an epistle to queen Mary, by Nahum Tate, being a comparison of some of the actions of king William with those of Alexander the Great: *octavo*, London, 1690. The translation by John Digby, 2 vols. *duodecimo*, London, 1714, 1726, was revised, 1747, by the Reverend William Young.

Superior to its predecessors, the last is not so in proportion to the advantages of a more cultivated age, either in a patient consultation of difficult passages in the Latin, or in the style of the English. It creates some geographical errors, and unintelligible descriptions, by misconstruction; and slurs over such as belong to the original, without censure, apology, or explanation. A few specimens will justify an attempt at a new translation. Each quotation is from Young's Digby: the reference is to the parallel passage in the following volumes.

I. " The *back of the mountain where the seares-*
" *ses in farthest*, has three very narrow passes, bone
" of which you enter Cilicia." vol. i. p. 291, l..

" That which is adored for a god, has not the me
" form under which artificers use to represent the
" gods; it very much resembles a *navel*, being m-
" posed of emeralds and other gems." i. 396, l. .

" By reason of the *declivity of the mountains toard*
" *the plain, there was a great gulf.*" ii. 27, l. 22

" The satrap gave him also the third, whom he
" king offered to leave behind, and made a sumptuus
" entertainment for him, with all the magnificence ie
" Barbarians are capable of." ii. 236. l. 26.

" About *three of the clock*, the tide, according o
" its ordinary course." ii. 358, l. *penult.*

II. " Thymodes, Mentor's son, was a brisk youn
" man." i. 282, l. *penult.*

" And that he might not do an ill thing, he was r-
" solved to marry her lawfully, ii. 238, l. 2.

" The death of this man procured Alexander more il
" will than that of any other, by reason he was a man f
" probity and learning, and had persuaded him to live
" when (having killed Clitus) he had resolved to die."
ii. 259, l. 17.

" Nobody in the least doubted but what he said
" was right." ii. 418, l. 6.

These examples may suffice.

The speeches of Python and Demosthenes, introduccinto the Supplement by Freinshemius, are not extant inany ancient author in the first person; but are fonded on incidental notices in Plutarch, Livy, and Jtin, and on hints given by the Athenian orator himse in subsequent orations. I have ventured slightly tomplify them, and to add the paragraph with which thspeech of Demosthenes concludes. As the preparatoy sketch of Philip's relations with the Grecian states, ab in the first book, consisted of little more than propr-names, I have filled up the outline. In the Supplment, the few authorities in the margin, mark additns by the translator; where the margin is vacant, Freinshemius is the authority. Throughout the books c Curtius, the version is a closer companion to the riginal; and the competition between the two languages, unequal as it must be, is strenuously mainained.

I have to ask pardon for two or three unusual inversions, not meant to possess the smooth tinkling of a dying paragraph, but to disturb the gentle reader in the nidst of a flow of monotony, and relieve him by seaonable ruggedness. Against inexorable critics, I can plead ancient license for an opposite sacrifice to variety of cadence, the deliberate retention of morsels of verse accidentally escaping in composition; three feet of sapphic, and less than an epic line, cannot deserve a se-

vere fulmination. I must bespeak absolution, too, for using the word "transcend" in a sense correlative with "ascend" and "descend." The consciousness that I have detected and avoided some slight alloy of error, in a variety of works connected with the illustration of Curtius, prevents me from hoping that care has preserved me from mistakes. The notes show my great obligations to previous commentators, and to some recent English writers.

VINDICATION OF CURTIUS.

The admirers of the historian are not uniformly just to other ancient classics: Cardinal Perron declared, that one page of his work was worth thirty of Tacitus. This extravagance is matched by Le Clerc, and surpassed by Rooke, in favour of Arrian. As the *Judgment* pronounced against Curtius by the learned Le Clerc, has been prefixed by Rooke to his translation of Arrian, and reinforced by satirical notes partaking of the pleasant manner in which Dennis rallies Addison, the information and the candour of both writers will be considered together. The great Geneva linguist wrote in an age, which, *in respect to the geography of Asia*, cannot be styled by courtesy half-enlightened: yet

Curtius is condemned wherever the historian's descriptions do not coincide with the critic's knowledge.

1. Entertaining the notion, that the heat or cold of a climate is to be estimated by the parallel of latitude, Le Clerc cannot believe that the Macedonians found the heights of the Parapamisadæ as cold as Curtius represents; and he securely ridicules the oppressive heat encountered in the desart on the hither border of Sogdiana, because this is farther North. But Niebuhr, in Arabia, and Parsons, in Syria, have experienced, in the same day, transitions analagous to diversity of season, by ascending from low-lands to elevated ridges: In the island of Ceylon, a chain of mountains separates opposite climates: and at cape Gardefan on the coast of Africa, the navigator passes from summer to winter in an instant.

2. Le Clerc tortures with the same eager severity the account, found in more than one passage of Curtius, of an imperfect degree of day-light arising from gelid mist or steaming vapour: He confutes an erroneous cause, falsely stated to be assigned by Curtius.—A phenomenon brought into notice by a late traveller, might contribute to the effect. He informs us *, that from the beginning of March to the end of May, a wind

* *Travels in Asia and Africa*, by Abraham Parsons, Esq. Consul at Scanderoon, p. 189.

from the N. W. usually prevails in the Persian gulf; during which a dry mist obscures the lustre of the sun. This mist is occasioned by that wind blowing rapidly over the desarts of Arabia for so great a length of time as to raise up and drive before it great quantities of sand, the minute particles of which are imperceptible to the naked eye. On the cabin-furniture, the dust every morning lay so thick, that it was usual to draw upon it devices with the finger. This is the more surprising, as the nearest part of the opposite Arabian coast is distant thirty leagues from Busheer. On land, it would hardly have been suspected, and could not have been ascertained, that the atmospheric light could be partly obscured by a volatile medium conveyed from an arid country equally distant.

3. Le Clerc argues, like a mere scholar, against the striking description given by Curtius of the violent *bore* in the Indus; and he consistently affirms, that the tide on the Indian coast is but SMALL.

4. The Genevan critic condemns every exercise, by Greek or Barbarian, of the organs of speech, as an improbable declamation; as if the business of the world could proceed without conversation or debate. The speech of the Scythians is the object of his unfortunate selection—Dr. Gillies has * candidly testified, that this

* *History of Greece*, ch. xxxviii. note (62).

speech is sufficiently consonant to the manners of barbarous nations; subjoining, that Le Clerc speaks with equal ignorance and severity, when, in arraigning the fidelity of Curtius, he says, "Even the Scythians, totally destitute of literature, come equipped with rhetorical tropes."—Rooke, instead of giving credit to the Latin historian of Alexander, for interesting particulars, deficient in Arrian, of the accusation and defence of Philotas, invidiously observes*: "He has given us the several questions and answers, replies and rejoinders, with so much nicety, that one would almost swear he had been fee'd for counsel on one side or the other; though, after all, I much doubt whether the greater part of what he has advanced upon that head be not fiction." Gratuitous and candid! If the reader should wish to inquire, whether we owe the speeches transmitted by ancient historians to the memory of the auditors, or to written reports of public clerks or private secretaries, a passage in Arrian, *on the division of the empire*, as preserved by Photius, will authorize the conclusion, that arranged facilities favoured the latter practice. During the insurrection of the soldiers against Antipater, related in the *Narrative* following the *Translation of Curtius*, Euridice, the wife of Philip Aridæus, made an oration against Antipater,

* Translation of Arrian, vol. i. p. 197, note.

which (so the abridgment of Photius adds) Asclepiodrus the official writer took care to record. Now, if an unexpected speech, delivered in a turbulent scene, could be taken down,—there is no difficulty in believing minutes to have been made of the conferences held with ambassadors, the proceedings of a council, the pleadings before a tribunal.

5. Le Clerc inveighs against the historian's practice of transmitting remarkable localities attending rivers, some of which happen to be picturesque, as a vein of useless ornament. The drawing which Curtius has penciled of a section of the Hydaspes has assisted Dr. Vincent* to fix the place where Alexander passed the river; and from many such impertinent pieces of scenery, information has been extracted for the map which accompanies this work.

6. There is scarcely an animadversion of Le Clerc entirely just and accurate in its rise and conduct; when happiest, he overcharges those errors, which other critics candidly notice to prevent them from misleading the reader. In other places, Curtius is justified by translating him differently.

7. Rooke takes more pains to asperse Curtius than to explain Arrian. In this spirit he comments: [vol. i. 189, note 1.] "Curtius then goes to work to de-

* *Nearchus*, 2d edit. p. 126.

"scribe the Caspian sea, and gives us the opinions of "everal, oncerning it, which are all, now, well "nown to be false."—The information, in Curtius, [*Translation* vol. ii. p. 88,] that a strong north-wind brings in extensive local inundation from the Caspian sea, and that a south-wind sweeps the inundation back, is notfound in Arrian or any other ancient author: but th striking topographical notice is confirmed by modern accounts.

8. Whe, in the battle with Porus, Curtius represents the Indian archers to have been incommoded by the slipper state of the ground,—Rooke marks it among his important objections, because Arrian [book v. ch. 15.] dcribes the place where the Indian army was drawn u, as firm and sandy: but it is evident, from the beginning of that chapter in Arrian, that the field was intrupted and surrounded with slimy tracts.

9. In paages, where Curtius cannot be reconciled with Arrian, which are less numerous than Rooke supposes, I prest against the assumption that Curtius is necessarily inaccurate, for the following reasons:—because Arrian sometimes gives distinct versions of the same transaction, uncertain which original authority to prefer;—and because, in various places, where he gives but on account, he has evidently not discriminated so wel as Curtius, who gives a different: In Arrian, for istance, the eldest daughter of Darius is

named Barsiné, confounded with the mother of prince Hercules; the imperial city of Persepolis is lost in the narrative, confounded with Passargada; the Dahæ are placed beyond the Tanais, or Jaxartes; the Chorasmii are removed to the vicinity of Colchis and the Amazons, on the border of the Euxine; and the Indian ocean is spoken of as communicating with the Hyrcanian sea. The last error is comparatively small; because it is not an error in the detail of transactions, but an opinion which might have been ingenious, though time has proved it to be false.

10. Curtius has to complain that later writers are not uniformly candid, in proportion to their information. The elegant historian, Dr. Gillies, thus adverts to the beautiful sketch of the Cydnus, which Le Clerc had reluctantly admitted to be in place: "From his laboured "description of this river, it seems as if he imagined "*that* water must have possessed very extraordinary "qualities, which proved hurtful to Alexander." Curtius ascribes to it no morbid property; nevertheless, there are streams morbidly cold. Reinegg, having described the source of the Euphrates in the mountains of Armenia Major, to rise from innumerable holes, in a blackish kind of rock, says: "The water near the "springs is so intensely cold, that neither man nor cat-"tle can drink it: three minutes suffice to kill birds "plunged in it up to the neck: I immersed my hand

" for five minutes; and, after suffering inexpressible " pain, could scarcely restore it to its natural warmth " in twenty-four hours *." In a subsequent note, Dr. Gillies terms the sea-storm encountered at the siege of Tyre an imaginary storm. What is there incredible in such an incident? Is the picturesque inconsistent with nature; or has Arrian omitted no matters of fact?

11. The report, by the Carthaginian ambassadors to the Tyrians, of an expedition from Sicily against Carthage contemporary with the siege of Tyre, is noticed in the commentary to the following translation of Curtius, as an apparent error; but is it certain, that every momentous occurrence in the history of Carthage and Sicily is transmitted by ancient writers? It appears from the Adulitick inscription, that Ptolemy Evergetes had nearly conquered the whole empire of the Seleucidæ in Asia, and that he subdued the kingdom of Abyssinia in Africa; two historical facts of considerable importance; and yet his success in Asia is only glanced at in a single sentence cited out of Polynæus by Bayer, *Bactria*, p. 61; and the conquest of Abyssinia is imparted to us by the marble alone †.

12. I scruple to treat a geographical error in the text as a corruption of the copies: but it may be ad-

* Preface to Wilkinson's *Translation of Reinegg's Caucasus.*

† Vincent's *Periplus*, 2d edit. p. 531.

mitted to be a just canon of criticism, that when a different part of the history proves the author to have been superior to the error, a corruption in the copy may be supposed.

In book vii. ch. iii. 12, the Caspian sea is mentioned; and then the Hyrcanian, as a distinct sea:—In book vi. ch. iv. 9, Caspian and Hyrcanian had been properly stated as names of the same sea; and in the section which contains the corrupted passage, the sea which washes Cilicia is noticed a few lines previously; to read, therefore, instead of *Hyrcanian*, where a sea distinct from the Caspian must be understood, *Cilician* or *Mediterranean*, is to correct the transcribers of the manuscripts by the knowledge which Curtius evidently possessed.

In book vii. ch. iii. 9, the territory of the Arachosians, according to the Latin copies, is represented to extend to the Pontic sea:—I feel more confidence, than I had while writing the note, that the word which *Ponticum* has supplanted, is *Indicum*. In the next section, Curtius states, that the southern district of the Parapamisadæ slopes toward the Indian sea; and, in book ix. ch. vii. 23, he records, that two tribes seated on the river Indus paid tribute to the Arachosians.

13. Something relating to the character of the historian has mixed itself with every department of the preface. As Rapin, negligent of elegance, is celebra-

ted for the impartiality of his historical writings, his simple testimony to the impartiality which Curtius unites with elegance, has superior weight. "For historical "honesty, Q. Curtius deserves high commendation; "he relates the bad, as well as the good, actions of "Alexander*."

Lipsius pronounces Curtius an uncorrupt and legitimate historian, if such ever wrote; and commends the grace of his narrative. Who better than Erasmus can judge of terseness and elegance? I had translated extracts from the numerous learned encomiasts of Curtius: but withdraw them, because they have a mixed relation to qualities which must be impaired in a translation. I retain the following testimony to his power of entertainment.

Alphonsus, king of Naples, was confined by indisposition at Capua; and while every one was devising amusements and attentions to relieve the royal patient, —summoned from Gaieta, I flew to his presence, carrying with me my juleps and catholicons, that is to say, such books as I knew would give him most pleasure to hear read, hoping to apply them under favourable indications, as the doctors say; among these, I administered Quintus Curtius. PANORMITA, *in facetiis Alphonsi Regis.*

* *Reflect. in Hist.* s. 28.

COMMENTARY ON THE MAP.

RESEARCH into ancient authorities, and application for new information, have been exerted to collect materials for this geographical sketch; in which will be observed deviations from former maps, both as to points which have been ascertained, and points which remain doubtful. I owe some important limits and stations, newly determined, to the unexampled liberality of Mr. Arrowsmith.

Even in the best maps, the shape and position of the Caspian sea have varied to a perplexing degree, through the want of accurate observations. About two years ago, a new survey of that sea was ordered by the Russian government, upon which a hundred-sheet-map has been constructed. Not having access to this authority, or any draught founded upon it, I paused; unwilling to give the public an outline, avowedly uncertain and defective, of a coast which affects the extent, and relative position, of several capital provinces in the empire of ancient Persia. I made a request, for which an ardent desire to illustrate a chapter of ancient history is my sole apology. The Public will learn, with expectation, that Mr. Arrowsmith is preparing a new map of Persia. This comprises the Caspian laid down from the Russian chart, with points of latitude recalculated. Although unknown to this gentleman, as soon as I had explained to him, that I was translating Curtius, and sketching a map of Alexander's conquests, he politely showed me his map of Persia, unpublished, and but in progress. On inspecting it, I was confirmed in thinking, that a correct Caspian, introduced into a map with ancient names, would be a valuable contribution to classic science. When I requested permission to copy it on the reduced

scale of my own map, I stated, that I possessed neither distinction nor influence, and that it was very uncertain, whether it would ever be in my power to make such a return for an uncommon favour as the liberal may exchange with the liberal. Mr. Arrowsmith lent me facilities for copying it at his residence, and treated me as a friend.

From the same authority, I derived the positions of Bactra (the modern Balk), of Maracanda (Samarcand), and of Cogend (whether this be Alexandria or Cyropolis); the courses of the rivers Ochus, Oxus, and Jaxartes; the lower part of the Indus; the coast of the Delta of the Indus, of Gedrosia, and of the neck of the Persian gulf; the salt lake in Parthia, and the fresh-water lake in Drangiana. As the mountains were not then inserted in Mr. Arrowsmith's map, he gave me the latitude and longitude of the Caspian streits.

Although from the projection used, distances on the map will measure, in every direction, nearly as on a globe; yet they will, in general, be materially shorter than road distances, in varying proportions, on account of the constant curvature caused by marshes, hills, and other local obstacles, which turn the traveller. In mountainous countries, besides a very great lateral curvature, there is a recurring curvature up and down, which cannot be expressed on any map, far less can it be measured. The distance from Aleppo to Bagdad, according to a journal of Parsons, is 900 miles; the distance is but 500, on the map, embracing every great curvature. This route, with other routes of modern travellers, was merely pencilled to obtain a principle, and effaced as having nothing to do with Alexander's campaigns. I consider the Macedonian engineers to have used the Olympiac stadium of 94½ toises; but in setting down the extreme points of a course of stadia, I regard every stadium of *direct distance* as measured by a flexile rod kept bent by a string,—frequently as short as 51 toises, the stadium which D'Anville supposes to have been employed; sometimes relaxed

to two thirds of its direct length; and rarely, for small intervals, applied in its full extent, or quite strait.

Properly speaking, every place not visited by Alexander is out of the map; yet, on account of their influence on interior positions, I have equally endeavoured to insert the surrounding points correctly. The great chain between the Euxine and the Caspian is regulated by the large and luminously particular map in Wilkinson's *Translation of Reinegg's Caucasus*; and the German traveller's opinion respecting the extent of Hyrcania is in part adopted. It is decided, that the Taurus and the Caucasus approach, but are not connected. "The branch, from "Caucasus, shooting S. S. E., winds at last southward: but, "before reaching the banks of the Cyrus, is lost in the fer-"tile plains of ancient Albania. Thus, then, the mountains of "Persia can in no way be regarded as a continuation of the "primitive chain of Caucasus. They received their origin "probably from the Mossian and Coraxian branches: but I "do not know," observes Dr. Reinegg, "that ridges separ-"ated by plains more than one hundred versts [say twenty "miles] broad, can be reckoned as a continuation of primi-"tive mountains*."

The corrected latitude given to Sinopé, is derived from a note in Rennell's *Geography of Herodotus:* in the situation of the Oasis of Hammon, of the Fountain of the Sun, and of many scattered points too numerous to detail, the same classic geographer's maps and dissertations have been followed.

Myos Hormus on the Arabian gulf, and Petra Nabathæa, claim from me a tribute to the learned works of Dr. Vincent: but I reserve these and other acknowledgments, to accompany reasons for confessing, that I cannot adopt his views respecting the rivers of Susiana.

Such cities as were not built till the age following that of

* Vol. i. p. 7.

Alexander, have been generally excluded. Antioch, Seleucia Pieria, and a few others, whose names declare themselves, have been reluctantly retained, because common calculations depend upon their sites.

A break in a mountain, by two sharp strokes, is merely a symbol of a practicable road, which may lie through a fissure, or over a ridge, or penetrate an alternation of acclivities and declivities, with level defiles.

The pass into Syria (the plural Latin term is more correct) comprises four defiles. The following description, abridged from Parsons's *Travels*, shows that, in Alexander's time, it might contain but three. The second and fourth passes are natural: the first avenue is made practicable by art; the third, entirely artificial, has been opened by manual labour. In the road from Issus to Syria, from the point where the ascent commences, it continues, with little variation, steep and rugged:—onward, about a mile and a half*, a level interval of four hundred yards conducts to a steep stony declivity. At the bottom, the traveller has to penetrate a small grove, and is relieved by a plain one hundred yards over. The ascent is then gradual for two miles, afterwards steep for a third of that space, leading to an avenue twenty yards long, through which two camels cannot pass abreast. The road is artificially constructed of earth and stones, without cement: the removal of these would make an hour's difference by the circuit which must be taken. This is the first and least difficult pass. Hence, for a mile the road is good, and of gradual ascent: it is afterwards rugged and very steep for about a mile and a quarter,—when the second pass commences, between a steep rocky mountain on the left, and an appalling precipice on the

* Half an hour. Parsons gives sometimes the time, and sometimes the distance. When yards or feet occur, the measure is always from Parsons.

right. This defile, one hundred yards long, is not, where most spacious, above seven feet wide. Leaving the precipice, the road winds up a very rugged acclivity for four hundred yards. At the end of a small level on the summit, is the third pass, cut through a very high rock; to descend which, camels, as they did in ascending, take a zig-zag track. The avenue, twenty yards wide, and two hundred and seven long, is on the descent and crooked; crags, forty-five feet in height, hang over it. Opponents on the summit, by rolling down massy stones, might overwhelm the passenger. There is no other opening: but the native mountaineers climb the sides of the height with their arms slung about them. From the place where the pass curves, the ground is level, and expands so as to allow four hundred men to stand in battalion. At the bottom, an opening to the right presents a prospect of the plain between the ridge and the bay, of the bay, and of the mountains on the Cilician side. The road, here, intersects about an acre and a half of level ground, surrounded by lofty heights, frightful precipices and chasms. Now commences the entrance to the modern town of Bylan, a street entirely acclivity; the ground is covered by a sheet of water, which falls from a mountain on the right, and is prevented from spreading on the left, by a parapet wall fixed at the edge of a precipice. From the parapet is seen a small plain half a mile in diameter, enclosed by mountains so as to form an amphitheatre, whither the way is so steep that none ventures to ride down. The luxuriant plain is covered with perennial grass, interspersed with ever-green fruit trees, though the encircling mountains are, one-third of the year, encrusted with ice and snow. The principal street of Bylan extends, North and South, half a mile; the houses, on the left, are built against the mountain, with others immediately over them; those on the right, stand near a precipice. The mountain is too elevated to support vegetation, and no goat has climbed it. In

passing still on to the North [South] after leaving Bylan, commences the fourth and last pass, for distinction termed the grand pass into Syria. The road continues ten or fifteen feet wide for half a mile, with a height on the left, and a parapet wall on the right, skirting a precipitous chasm between two mountains. Where the road widens, the descent begins, which is rugged and crooked for five miles: a mile and a half tolerably level, is succeeded by the plain of Antioch, eighteen miles across.

This will serve as a picture of the complicated difficulties in a series of defiles.

Travellers preparing to pass Taurus from Cappadocia into Cilicia, lay in three days' provision; and the ascent and descent occupied Mr. Browne three days*.

Alexander's army was seventeen days in passing mount Parapamisus: but as it was afterwards six days in passing a river, the Oxus—the time must be considered as the combined effect of difficult avenues, and of the necessity of passing a large body in small divisions; or seventeen may be divided by six.

The Caspian streit is prolonged eight miles: its general breadth is forty yards; in the narrowest places, it is winding, and only wide enough for a carriage. The mountains on each side are very high; the bottom is generally level, and along it, at certain seasons, a considerable stream of salt water flows towards the desert on the south. The chasm does not bisect the great body of the Caspian mountains, but only inferior ridges†.

Some points of ancient geography are yet, and some will ever be, objects of speculation more or less founded on steps of modern discovery and ancient vestiges.

* Heylin's *Cosmography*, p. 622. Browne's *Travels*, p. 411.

† Rennell's *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 114.

Cyropolis is usually referred to the site of Cogend, on the Jaxartes, but its position is rather indicated to have been on the Polytimetus, by circumstances both in Curtius and Arrian, and particularly by the commemoration in Arrian, that the channel of the river running through the city was dry at the time of assault.

The tract assigned to the Parapamisadæ concurs fully with the hint in Arrian and the particular account of Curtius.

The patches of Arid Desert, in Gedrosia, are thrown in according to indications in the march of Alexander, as related by Curtius; and, where Curtius ceases to be particular, they are shaped to inferences from the course of march, as described by Arrian.

The kingdom of Abisares, a tract north of Porus, to which Alexander did not divert his march, I consider to be the modern Cashmire. The districts of the Oxydracæ and Malli fall rather lower according to Curtius, than according to Arrian: but as it is difficult to find space for all the powerful kingdoms and states which Alexander subdued in the narrow but long slip of region east of the Indus, this promotes the general arrangement. The sites given to tribes on the lower trunk of the Indus, correspond with short notes in the translation, where I have frequently used Dr. Vincent's name as equivalent to a dissertation.

As far as I am able to judge, such points as Dr. Vincent has laid down hypothetically, appear to be tenable, in proportion to the confidence which he expresses.

The following extract invites new suggestions from those whose pursuits embrace that division of his extensive subject:

"Although D'Anville has proved, that the rivers which fall "into the gulf [below Busheer] are all derived from the range "which runs parallel with the coast, and forms the back "ground of the Kermesir, he is undoubtedly mistaken in the

" course and names he gives to some of those in the upper " part of the gulf; and I am not fully furnished with mate- " rials to correct his errors." *Nearchus*, 2d edit. p. 315.

In the outline of the body of the Persian Gulf, the map follows Dalrymple's chart, except that every point of longitude is removed half a degree toward the west. The upper part is restored to its ancient state, as far as it can be collected.

It is recorded by Arrian, Strabo, and other ancient writers, that there was formerly a lake, (that is, a marine fen, or gulf within islets and shoals), at the head of the Persian Gulf, which received the mixed waters of the Tigris, of the Choaspes and Eulæus, and of the Pasitigris, before they reached the sea. D'Anville and De la Rochelle give this lake a direction parallel to the Tigris, and perpendicular to the gulf. I subscribe to Dr. Vincent's opinion, that it had a contrary direction, because Nearchus, already at the mouth of the Euphrates, when to approach the Pasitigris, he took a course nearly retrograde, in sailing through this lake, kept Susiana on his left hand. Reading Arrian's *Indica* by the medium of translations, may I propose to fill up an elliptical passage in the 42d chapter, bearing on this and other points; a passage in which Grecians acknowledge a remnant of difficulty? " From [the beginning " of] this lake to the river itself, [the Pasitigris,] it is six hun- " dred stadia; where is a village of the Susians called Agimis, " five hundred stadia distant from Susa. The whole length " of the Susian coast [measured in two sections] to the mouth " of the Pasitigris, [adding the distance between the Arosis " and the Pasitigris to the six hundred stadia from the Tigris,] " is two thousand stadia*." We have, thus, three controlling

* The basis of this paraphrase is from Rooke; Dr. Vincent has withdrawn his original construction of the passage. Had he presented the substitute as removing every obscurity, I had implicitly followed it.

bearings to aid in fixing where the mouth of the Pasitigris WAS. I measure the distance from Aginis to Susa, as if the road were quite strait, a circumstance barely possible in a level country. Along the coast, I average a thousand stadia at seventy miles: Arrian makes the distance from the Indus to the Euphrates, about 22,500 stadia: on the map, measuring great inflections of coast, the distance is twenty-two degrees and a half. The apparent shortness of the stadium, may arise from minute curvatures in the actual track.

According to Curtius, the Pasitigris is a distinct and primary river. Arrian states, that Nearchus ascended the Pasitigris a short undefined distance, to meet Alexander marching from Persis to Susa; that on their junction, the admiral, received with honouring courtesy, WALKED in a procession to Susa; in another book, he relates, as a subsequent occurrence, that Alexander conducted the fleet, which lay ready at Susa, down the river Eulæus into the sea; does the connection of these incidents prove, that Arrian makes the Eulæus and the Pasitigris one river, that the same writer has called the same united stream by different names? I think not: I suspect rather, that Arrian has omitted a trivial incident, that after Nearchus debarked, some ordinary seaman carried the fleet into the Eulæus, and up to Susa. Every thing else in Arrian respecting the Pasitigris favours such a view.

If passages in Strabo respecting the confluence of the rivers falling into the lake, which has since been filled up by alluvial sediment gradually deposited, were construed strictly, they would make the Tigris confluent with the Eulæus, which it is decidedly not. I regard similar notices in different authorities, some obscure, and some expressed with doubt, merely to import that the Susian rivers converged and blended their waters in a general estuary.

With regard to the Arosis of Curtius, the journal of Nearchus will not assist us to determine its mouth, unless we can

prove, that some river known to the moderns corresponding with the Arosis near Persepolis reaches the sea. In the most correct modern charts, mouths of numerous rivers are marked on the eastern side of the gulf: on these we may depend, but little of their internal course is known. Book v. ch. iv. 13. of Curtius, contains a difficult passage, of which I have given at the end of the second volume a reconsidered version. By the "sea toward the south," I understand the lake Backtegian, the Dirge Nemeh or brackish sea: Had Curtius meant the Persian gulf, he would have repeated the term "Red Sea," which he had employed a few lines above: The "sea toward the south" is a designation for a sea without a name, a sea of which we have no trace in any other ancient classic. The Medus, or Arosis, flows on: but whether it be exhausted in derivations to lakes, and in fertilizing Cœle-Persis, as D'Anville and his closer followers contend, or whether it finds its way to the Persian gulf, Curtius forbears to affirm. Nearchus found in the gulf an Arosis, the largest river (he judged from its mouth) observed in his voyage. In the upper part, Dr. Vincent begins to distrust Dalrymple's chart. From the Indus to Mesembria, (the modern Busheer), I anchor with him uniformly at the same station: I cannot carry the mouth of the Arosis so high as he does, by a very considerable space. On the one hand, I reckon fourteen hundred stadia from the Pasitigris to the Arosis, the interval deduced from the above elliptical passage; on the other, about nine hundred, from Mesembria to the Arosis. To prevent local allowances from producing, at last, some great deficiency or excess, my rude calculation began with setting off all the great distances, such as the coast of Carmania, the coast of Persia, by a proportionate division of the whole distance. I cannot help connecting the Arosis of the coast with the Arosis near Persepolis: but I consider the intermediate section of river to be innavigable, and to penetrate a country not practicable in the same direction.

Fryer, a Member of the Royal Society, who explored some scenes of Alexander's triumphs, when the danger might be less than it is at present, countenances this opinion. He visited a pass N. W. of Persepolis, which he considers as not unlikely to be that which Ariobarzanes so obstinately defended; his account of the use which the Persians made of the sexual distinction in palm trees, shows him to have been a traveller of observation. Respecting the point in question, he says: "I "crossed the river Bindamire [Bend-Emir] or the Araxes, "famous for its untraced windings upon the mountains, and "sometimes under their very bottoms, till, by its rapid course, "it vents itself into the sea." *Travels in East India and Persia*, in 1672—1681, by John Fryer, M. D. and F. R. S. p. 250.

GENEALOGY

OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT,

FROM REINECCIUS AND OTHERS.

Paternal Line.

From Timenus, son of Hercules, descended the Temenidæ, who long reigned in Argos; of this family, by parents whose names are not recorded, was Caranus, an Argive, the founder of the Macedonian kingdom. He was the sixteenth in descent from Hercules. From him descended

Cœnus,
Tyrimas,
Perdiccas I.
Argæus,
Philip I.
Æropus,
Alcetas,
Amyntas I.
Alexander I.
Philip II.
Amyntas II.
Philip III.
Alexander the Great.

Maternal Line.

With Achilles commences the ambitious pedigree; among the offspring of his son Pyrrhus, is numbered Pielus, whose mother was Andromache, Hector's widow.

The imperfect memorial of descent passes now to Alcon, whose immediate progenitors are unknown: but he is said to have been of the race of Pielus. From him descended

Admetus, king of Epirus;
Arymbas,
Alcetas,
Neoptolemus,
Olympias,
Alexander the Great.

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

SUPPLEMENT.

BOOK I.

THE BIRTH OF ALEXANDER.—THE BATTLE OF CHÆRONEA.—THE DEATH OF PHILIP.—THE DESTRUCTION OF THEBES.

CHAP. I.

Introduction. Philip had prepared facilities for the conquest of Persia. Birth of Alexander. Prodigies alleged to have preceded and attended it.

THE life and actions of Alexander, who wrested the empire from the Persians and transferred it to Greece, have been recorded by many Greek historians; of whom a majority were eye-witnesses—and some of them, as his associates and ministers, shared in the glory—of his achievements. Alexander himself, from a passionate desire of perpetual fame, commissioned several of his attendants to transmit to posterity memorials of his exploits. But though the simple

facts were inherently great, the love of fable, natural to the Greeks, induced numbers of them to compose on this subject heroic rhapsodies rather than biographies or histories. The writers *on the life of Alexander*, who deserve most credit, are Aristobulus, an attendant on the conqueror, and Ptolemy, who succeeded to a great part of his dominions. The death of Alexander removed all necessity for fear and temptation to flattery, the ordinary causes of corrupt deviations from the truth of history: and who can suspect that Ptolemy would sully the lustre of his sceptre, by becoming the deliberate propagator of lies and fables? Moreover, since he and Aristobulus were present at a great proportion of affairs conducted by Alexander, and were principal actors in some operations confided to them as ministers or generals, it is evident that they were most competent to give full and exact narratives of his transactions. For these reasons, as often as they concur in their accounts, we give them the preference over all other authorities; and when they disagree, we select, from the materials left by them and others, such particulars as appear, on a strict examination, to approach nearest to truth. And it is observable, that in the age following that of Alexander, those of his Greek biographers who had any deference for veracity, and Diodo-

rus Siculus, at a more recent period, have left us examples of the same method.

The Roman historians, to the present time, neglecting to investigate the records of other nations, have been content to write on the affairs of our own country; because in our actions as a victorious people, they found a subject abounding with noble materials, suited to the majesty of history, and in their judgment more instructive to the members of the commonwealth than any other which they could relate. As I esteem the labours of those writers to deserve commendation, so I hope that I shall not incur censure, if I attempt to give my countrymen an outline of that monarch, who, in the course of his short life, conquered, and connected into one empire, more countries than any other prince ever aspired to invade. His rapid success had an obvious foundation, and the precipitate dissolution of his dominion as conspicuous a cause; from both we may conclude, that the felicity of no commander can be lasting who is deserted by virtue.

Alexander was endowed with all the indications of genius, and inherited all the advantages of fortune, which might be expected to combine in a prince destined to reach an extraordinary height of power and greatness.

The kings of Macedon derived their pedigree from Hercules; and Olympias, the mother of Alexander, traced the origin of her family to Achilles. Her son, from his infancy, wanted neither allurements nor examples to excite him in the pursuit of glory. His father, Philip, by able policy and continued martial successes, had acquired consideration and celebrity for the Macedonians, whom the Greeks had, till his reign, contemptuously classed among the Barbarians; and they whose arms were recently despised, the conquest of Greece had made every where formidable. Philip laid the foundations of still greater results, which were completed by his successor: having decided on attacking Persia, he levied men, collected provisions, raised money, and organized an army, ready at a signal to commence the expedition; and he had opened a passage into Asia by a separate detachment under Parmenio. His death, at this crisis, transferred to his son the immense powers and resources prepared for that war, and an opportunity to reap an undivided harvest of glory: which some have regarded as the work of fortune, ever auspicious to Alexander. This prince excited so much admiration in his contemporaries, not only after he had completed his vast achievements, but even at the first stage of

his career, that it was debated, whether it were not reasonable to ascribe his origin immediately to Jupiter, rather than to trace his descent from that deity by the medium of the Æacidæ and Hercules? After his visit to the temple of Ammon in Lydia, related minutely in a subsequent chapter, nothing less would satisfy him than to be called the son of Jupiter. Many persons professed to believe, that 'Alexander was the 'offspring of a serpent, which had been seen 'in his mother's bed-chamber, and that the 'king of the gods had assumed that disguise.' Those who adopted this account, urged, 'That it 'had been corroborated by dreams and prophe-'cies, and that when Philip sent to Delphi to 'consult respecting his son's birth, the oracle 'answered by this admonition: Highly revere 'Ammon.' On the other hand, reflecting writers have affirmed, 'That the celestial side of his 'pedigree is entirely fiction: and that there is 'reason to suspect Alexander's mother of adul-'tery with Nectanebus, king of Egypt; who, 'when expelled from his kingdom, made not 'Ethiopia his asylum, as had been commonly 'believed, but proceeded to Macedonia to soli-'cit support from Philip against the power of 'the Persians. That received at the court of 'Pella, he there triumphed over the virtue of 'Olympias by magical enchantments. That

'from the time of surmising this, Philip jea-
'lously surveyed her conduct; and the im-
'putation appeared to be the chief cause of
'their subsequent divorce. That at a feast
'made to celebrate the marriage of Philip with
'Cleopatra,—Attalus, the uncle of the new
'queen, insulted Alexander by an indirect al-
'lusion to the illegitimacy of his birth, while
'the king disowned him as a son. That the ru-
'mour imputing adultery to Olympias, was not
'confined to Macedonia, but had been diffused
'among the nations which Alexander conquer-
'ed. That the fiction of the serpent was an
'imitation of ancient fables, in order to conceal
'the ignominy of the queen his mother. And
'that the Messenians had formerly circulated a
'similar story concerning Aristomenes; and the
'Sicyonians concerning Aristodamas.' With regard to the latter of these allegations, we know, that a parallel report prevailed among our ancestors concerning that Scipio, who commenced the splendid series of exploits which ended in the destruction of Carthage; and that the birth of Augustus was, in like manner, attributed to a divine cause. As to Romulus, it is unnecessary to advert to the extraordinary nativity ascribed to him, since there is no nation so contemptible as not to derive its origin either from some god or the offspring of a god.

Still it should be recollected, that those who convert the fugitive Nectanebus into the father of Alexander, commit a perceptible anachronism; for Alexander was six years of age when the vanquished Egyptian monarch was deprived of his kingdom by Ochus: but the impossibility of the account respecting Nectanebus, does not make the tale reported of Jupiter the more probable. Olympias herself, when relieved from apprehension by her husband's death, rallied the vanity of her son, who would have it believed that he was sprung from Jupiter; and she begged him in a letter, 'Not to expose her to 'Juno's indignation, as she had been guilty of 'nothing that deserved that punishment.' However, during Philip's life, she is represented to have been the person most solicitous to confer credit and currency upon the fable. If she admonished Alexander, upon his expedition into Asia, 'To be mindful of his origin, and to do nothing 'unworthy of so great a father;' she may be supposed to advert to Philip, unless her resentment had rendered her disingenuous and blind to his greatness.

It is generally admitted, that between the time of his mother's conception and the birth of Alexander, it was supernaturally intimated that an extraordinary person should be born; and the following presages are collected from differ-

ent writers. Philip saw, in his sleep, the womb of Olympias sealed up with a ring, on which was engraven the figure of a lion; as a memorial of this, the name of Leontopolis, was given to Alexandria in Egypt, a name which it long retained: Aristander, the ablest diviner of that age, afterwards the chief-priest of Alexander, interpreted this dream to portend, that the infant should excel in courage and magnanimity. On the night in which Olympias gave birth to that son who was to astonish and afflict the world, the temple of Diana at Ephesus, the sacred edifice most celebrated in Asia, was destroyed by fire; this conflagration was the act of a profligate incendiary, who, being apprehended and put to the torture, confessed, that despairing of fame by good actions, his view in perpetrating this impiety, was to transmit his name to after-ages by a stupendous crime. The Magi residing at Ephesus did not estimate this as a calamity of temporary influence, but as presaging extended destruction of permanent effect; and they disturbed the city by reiterating this mournful prediction: "There is in some "part of the world a torch kindled, which shall "one day consume all the East." Nearly at one point of time, Philip completed the subjugation of Potidæa, a colony of the Athenians; received intelligence, that a crown had been

awarded to him at the Olympic games, whither he had sent chariots: and was gratified by the arrival of a courier from Parmenio, announcing that that general had gained a decisive victory over the Illyrians. The rejoicings inspired by these successes, were crowned with the intimation, that Olympias had been delivered of a son; and the diviners confidently predicted, 'That the prince who was 'born amid so many victories and triumphs, 'would be invincible.' Philip, amazed at such a concurrence of happy events, and dreading the envy of the celestials, implored the goddess Nemesis, 'To be contented with revenging these 'indulgencies of fortune by a moderate cala-'mity.' It has been recorded, as another remarkable incident, 'that two eagles sat, during 'a whole day, upon the house where the queen 'was delivered;' a presage 'that Alexander 'should become master of the empires both of 'Asia and Europe.' This interpretation might be assigned, without danger of mistake, after the event had occurred. Of the portentous appearances related by different authors, the last that I shall select as a candidate for credit is, that 'Alexander's birth was attended with lightning, 'thunder, and a local convulsion of the earth.'

Olymp. cvi. 1. *A. C.* 356.

The most accurate historians fix the date of this nativity on a day in the month of *Loüs*, as

it was called by the Macedonians, answering to the twenty-first day of July, in the beginning of the 106th Olympiad, when Elpines was prætor of Athens. At this era, our republic had subsisted nearly four hundred years; and the Roman arms, attended by victory in every direction, were displaying the prelude to that expansion of power and territory, which has since comprehended the Macedonian empire in the acquired dominion of the world.

CHAP. II.

Judicious arrangements by Philip for the education of his son. Early indications of a manly and heroic mind in Alexander. Description of his person. Anecdote of Leonidas. Anecdote of the Persian ambassadors.

PHILIP now found an object of anxious deliberation in the education of his son. The wise and patriotic king perceived, that his own efforts to elevate Macedonia would be unavailing, should his death, while his great designs were floating, leave the government in the hands of an uninformed and indolent prince. He reflected that the permanence of his own celebrity might be affected by the character of his

successor; and that the character of his successor might depend greatly on the talents and virtues of a preceptor. Under these impressions, he thus addressed Aristotle, in a letter of which the elegance is constantly acknowledged.

" PHILIP TO ARISTOTLE. Health!

" A son is born to me: I thank the gods, " not so much for making me a father, as for " giving me a son in an age when he can have " Aristotle for his instructor. I confide that " you will make him a prince worthy to suc- " ceed me, and qualified to govern Macedonia. " I should prefer being the last of my family, " to having children whose education and con- " duct were not to reflect honour on their an- " cestors."

Aristotle was at Athens, exercising his acumen on the doctrines conveyed in the lectures of Plato, when he received the invitation of Philip, with which he complied as soon as the young prince had attained an age capable of profiting from a superior course of instruction. Part of this interval—three years—he passed with Hermias, the Macedonian governor of Atarnea; and then returning to Mytilene*, remained

* Diog. Laert. lib. v. sect. 3 et 9. Dion. Halic. *Epist. ad Amm.* cap. 5. t. vi. pa. 728; and see, *infra*, chap. iii. note.

there two years: while Alexander was growing up under fostering advantages, calculated to prepare him for such a master. Leonidas, a relation of the queen, acted as the prince's guardian and tutor, conjointly with Lysimachus of Acarnania: the physician, Philip, another native of that country, had the charge of his health: in Hellanica, daughter of Dropis, and sister of Clitus *, he had a nurse equally happy in the soundness of her constitution, the amiable tone of her affections, and her mental capacity. While yet a child, Alexander promised to become that great king which he afterwards proved. Extraordinary fire and activity animated his tender limbs; and in the marks of heroic genius, he far outstripped his age. He despised the fopperies of dress, saying, 'That solicitude to adorn 'the exterior was appropriate in women, who 'had no endowments more considerable than 'personal charms; and that if he could attain 'the first class in virtue, he should be sufficiently handsome and attractive.'

Symmetry moulded his infant form, and as he approached manhood, continued to regulate his growth; the evident strength and firmness of his joints impressed the spectator with an idea of great vigor; and being but of middling stature,

* Plut. in Alex.

he was in reality stronger than he appeared. His skin was fair, except on his cheeks and his breast, where it was tinged with an agreeable red. His hair was yellow, and waved in natural curls; the form of his nose was aquiline: but his eyes are represented to have been dissimilar, in color, his right eye sparkling with jet, while his left eye reflected rays of blue; notwithstanding this blemish, their expression penetrated the beholder with respect and awe. He excelled in swift-running; an exercise which he continued after he became king, from experience of its great use in expeditions; and he frequently contended in a foot-race for a prize with the most agile in the camp. He bore fatigue with a persevering firmness that cannot be adequately described; and this quality repeatedly extricated both himself and his army from great extremities. Regular exercise, operating with his warmth of constitution, so dissipated the morbid humours which commonly loiter under the skin, that not only his breath was fragrant, but his pores in their exudations wept sweetness; and the bounty of nature, or the flattery of attendants, gave his clothes a grateful odour, distinguishable from artificial perfume. To animal spirits almost inflammable, some attribute his irritability and propensity to wine. Statues and portraitures of him are still extant, the works ex-

clusively of superior artists; for Alexander, while he expressly authorized a few, prohibited all others from attempting to take his likeness, lest the animation which resided, as a visible soul, in his features, should elude the vulgar pretender to the name of painter or sculptor. Selected from the first class in each profession, Apelles was the only artist permitted to make Alexander the subject of his pencil, Pyrgoteles to engrave him on gems, Lysippus to give him to live through succeeding ages in marble and bronze *.

Leonidas, the governor of Alexander, is stated to have walked too fast; and his pupil, to have adopted that custom without being able afterwards to correct it. Aware that example strongly influences the young, I am yet inclined to attribute impatience of carriage in the prince, as far as it prevailed, rather to his native temper than to habit commencing in imitation; his impetuous spirit would naturally communicate to the movements of his body corresponding vivacity. His successors on the throne, so far from accounting this hastiness a blemish, studiously affected it: but to this, their servile imitations were not confined: they as-

* The name of Polycletus, which Freinshemius had joined with that of Lysippus, the Translator has suppressed as an anachronism.

sumed his elevated tone; attempted his piercing intelligence of look; and descended to mimic an inclination in his neck towards his left shoulder: while they were too imbecile to resemble him in attainments, or to copy his virtues. Of many Macedonian kings, the most vigorous period of their manhood, selected from their long inglorious lives, would furnish scarcely a trait worthy to be compared with one of the sentiments or actions which distinguished the childhood of Alexander. The manly boy never expressed or perpetrated any thing approaching to meanness or turpitude, but preserved a superiority of conduct agreeing with his subsequent fortune. Highly ambitious of praise, he did not affect to draw it indifferently from every thing: but courted fame only as it is allied to excellence in laudable pursuits: sensible that plaudits bestowed on sordid actions, are dishonourable gratuities, and that emulation is noble, and victory illustrious, in proportion to the magnitude of the opposition and the greatness of the competitor. On its being suggested to him, 'That his being an excellent runner should induce him to enlist at the Olympic games, after the example of a king of his name, in order that the fame of his swiftness might circulate over Greece:' the magnanimous youth answered: "I would dispute

" the prize there, could I have kings for compe-
" titors." While Philip was constantly adding some opulent city or strong military position to the national possessions, while victory following victory filled the Macedonian people with exultation,—Alexander was frequently the solitary subject of grief which he was unable to conceal, and which urged him to utter this complaint among boys of his own age: " My father will
" leave nothing for you and me to do when we
" come to be men." He had a stronger passion for honour than for riches; and regarded accessions of power and revenue which he had not contributed to produce, as diminishing his opportunities of glory: in this his desire of true greatness was mixed with an appetite for false distinction.

He was naturally satisfied with short intervals of sleep; and increased his wakefulness by art: whenever a subject required uninterrupted meditation, he rested only his limbs, with the extremity of one arm out of bed, holding a silver ball over a bason, that its fall might disturb him, should he slumber.

From infancy, he delighted to worship the gods by splendid offerings: once, at a sacrifice, he flung so much incense into the fire, that the severe and parsimonious Leonidas, to check his profusion, exclaimed: 'You may burn incense

'in this manner, when you conquer the coun-
'tries where it grows.' When, afterwards, Alexander had embraced among his conquests the dominion of Arabia, remembering this reproof, he presented Leonidas with a sumptuous quantity of this perfume, recommending to his former Mentor, 'To be more liberal for the future, in 'paying adoration to the gods, 'since he must 'now be convinced, that they acknowlege, 'with overflowing remuneration, gifts cheer-'fully made them.'

While a child, Alexander gave multiplied indications of penetration and superior genius. Artaxerxes, surnamed Ochus, was at this time king of Persia: Artabazus and Menapis, two satraps of that monarchy, with Memnon of Rhodes, a general of reputation, revolted in concert, and marched an army against their sovereign: but they were defeated by the loyal majority of the Persian forces, on which they fled from Asia to the court of Philip. Alexander, who had not attained seven years of age, delighted in the society of the strangers, from whom he often sought information concerning the affairs of Persia; his questions, the reverse of puerile, were of this tenor: 'Whether the inha-'bitants of that country were valiant, and what 'description of arms they used? What was the 'distance from Macedonia to Susa, and in how

'many days might a traveller reach that capital? 'What kind of life the king led? What were 'his exercises and diversions? What his charac-'ter with respect to bravery and virtue?' After the Persian fugitives had resided sometime in Macedonia, their sovereign pardoned them, through the mediation of Mentor, the brother of Memnon, and brother-in-law of Artabazus, who had intermarried with their sister. The ambassadors deputed to bring the amnesty from the court of Susa to that of Pella, and to demand of Philip the recalled officers, frequently saw and conversed with Alexander: his qualities and attainments, contrasted with his tender years, struck them with admiration: one of them exclaimed to his colleagues: "This young "prince is great: ours is rich*."

The future conqueror of Darius owed his superior talents not more to nature than to cultivation. Philip, conscious of his own obligations to the lessons of Epaminondas; and sensible, that he had effected more by his eloquence and knowledge than by his power;—in this spirit, continued to provide for the educa-

* The translations of this passage from Plutarch, are generally so turned as to convey the idea that the Persian delegate was comparing the child Alexander with the reigning sovereign of Persia; it may be as reasonable to consider the contrast to relate to some prince, of an age approaching manhood, who, at Susa, was receiving an education as heir apparent.

tion of his son. He renewed his princely overtures, inviting Aristotle to reside at his court, there to unfold to Alexander the elements of literature, of the liberal arts, and of science, and with every stage of these to connect moral instruction*. "May he be taught," said Philip, "to avoid those errors which I have committed, 'and of which I now repent†." The founder of the Lycæum accepted without reluctance the important office of teaching a prince how to reign.

Each of the masters of Alexander excelled in his department; their concurring instruction and discipline filled his mind with elevated sentiments, and brought his body to such a temperament, that it was adequate to every kind of military exercise, and could surmount all varieties of fatigue: nor was he frivolously employed, when engaged in the recreations of tennis and a manly description of dance; for they did not so much relax his mind as prepare his limbs for more important exertions.

Lysimachus had already, either to flatter his pupil, or from a presentiment of his greatness, called himself Phœnix; Philip, Peleus; and his pupil, Achilles‡.

* Plut. in Alex.—Isocrat. Lit. ad Alex.
† Plut. in Apophth. ‡ Plut. in Alex.

CHAP. III.

Progress of Alexander's education. Suggestion that his ambition might be inflamed by a dogma of Aristotle. Philip's great reward to that Philosopher. Aristotle long retained an influence over Alexander. Anecdote of Cassander. Timotheus, Alexander's favourite musician. Anecdote of Anaximenes. Alexander slights comedians and pugilists; a general patron of arts and professions.

AS Alexander approached maturity and became capable of serious studies, Aristotle's superintendance and instructions increased in closeness and constancy. The prince had the benefit of the sage's society, from the time at which Philip recalled Aristotle from the city of Mytilene till Alexander's expedition into Asia, after his father's death had placed him on the throne; an interval of eight years*. During that time,

* Freinshemius has not defined the interval, perhaps because he found statements very contradictory. Alexander was about thirteen years old when Aristotle commenced the office of tutor. The chronology, adopted in the text, is deduced from a letter addressed to Ammæus by Dionysius of Halicarnassus; who—to prove that Demosthenes had attained perfection in the practice, before Aristotle delivered the theory, of eloquence—marks, with precision, the principal events in the lives both of the orator and philosopher. Aris-

Alexander collected flowers and fruit from every branch of knowledge to be cultivated under so eminent a master. In particular, he sought information in Natural History with intensity, which increased as events fortified his expectation of becoming emperor of the whole world. When he had ascended the throne, he furnished Aristotle with facilities for making researches and discoveries in that science on an august scale; placing under his direction such of the inhabitants of Greece and Asia as subsisted by hunting, fowling, or fishing, or who possessed skill and experience in those arts, that their services might enable the philosopher to frame a treatise, free from error and doubt, respecting the nature of animals. The king allowed the naturalist eight hundred talents to defray the immediate charges of the undertaking. The great interest felt by Alexander in

totle; born at Stagira, and educated at the court of Pella, where his father was king's physician; went to reside at Athens in his eighteenth year, A. C. 367. There, as the scholar or assistant of Plato, he continued near twenty years. On the death of his master, A. C. 348, Aristotle left Athens; and spent three years at Atarnæa, and two at Mytilene. He returned to Pella in the forty-third year of his age, A. C. 343. After having been employed, eight years, in the education of Alexander, he again visited Athens, A. C. 335. There he taught during twelve years in the Lycæum. Having discontinued his public labours, he, in the year following, died at Chalcis, ætat. sixty-three, A. C. 323, and a year after the death of Alexander.

inquiries connected with Natural History, led him to expend vast sums in sowing the seeds of information, of which it was not probable that he would live to reap the fruits. An hundred years after his death, deer were taken with golden chains about their necks, which had been affixed, by his orders, to enable posterity to explode or confirm the accounts assigning extreme longevity to those creatures.

After the conquest of Babylon, Alexander augmented his treasures of knowledge by a series of astronomical observations, which had been carefully prosecuted and registered in that ancient capital for above nineteen centuries. By his order, a faithful copy of them was transmitted to Aristotle *.

That Alexander understood the sublime and recondite sciences which Aristotle termed acroamatics, is evident from his letter to the philosopher, in which he complains, 'That the 'master who discovered them, had violated their 'dignity by too widely divulging their princi- 'ples.' Aristotle's apology is, 'That in the man- 'ner they were published, they might be con- 'templated as not published, for that no person 'could comprehend them, but such as had been 'instructed in their principles.'

* Porphyr. apud Simplicium, in Aristot. de Cœlo, l. ii.

Was it a similar jealousy lest knowledge should be profaned by unveiling it to the vulgar, that led the Macedonian prince, when he demanded from the philologist his books on rhetoric, to forbid the communication of these treasures to any other person? No, he seems to avow that he was ambitious to be exclusively preëminent in arts and sciences as in power and greatness; and could not endure that the lowest of mankind should share with him in their milder light and glory.

There is also internal evidence in his letters, that he studied the medical art, under a second preceptor bearing the name of Aristotle, the son of a physician descended from Æsculapius.

That department of Ethics which teaches self-command, as a chief qualification for commanding others, the founder of the Lycæum successfully inculcated on his royal pupil; and Alexander is considered to have effected the subversion of the Persian empire, that immense fabric of grandeur and power, rather by magnanimity, prudence, temperance, and fortitude, than by his riches and arms. He frankly acknowledged, 'That he owed as much to Aristotle as to 'Philip; from the one he had derived life—from 'the other the principles of living virtuously 'and honourably.' Nevertheless, it has been suggested, with some appearance of reason,

that the ambition which naturally glowed in the breast of the Macedonian hero, was stimulated to an ungovernable flame by the excessive value which Aristotle assigned to honour and glory, the philosopher having classed them with things which he termed essential goods. Alexander not only multiplied wars to extend his dominions, but ultimately required that his courtiers should sink into the posture of adoration, when they yielded him homage; impiously affecting to be a god.

Aristotle had not to wait till the accession of Alexander for distinction and reward: in Philip's life-time he received, in the reëstablishment of his country, an invaluable recompense for his services in forming the mind of Alexander. The city of Stagira, where the philosopher was born, was a dependency of the republic of Olynthus, subject to the jurisdiction, and involved in the misfortunes, of that city: the Olynthians had displayed inveterate hostility to Philip; for, being his neighbours by geographical situation, and having been his rivals in power, they could not patiently see this politic and martial king proceed in acquisitions of territory and revenue, which might enable him, eventually, to inflict destruction or impose servitude upon the adjoining states. The minds both of the encroaching and the resisting party were more than com-

monly inflamed; and their stubborn contests were ferociously conducted. Philip at length obtained a decisive victory, which he sullied by a vindictive triumph. The city of Olynthus he plundered and levelled to its foundations: he sold the inhabitants as slaves. With the other dependent cities, Stagira equally suffered these severities: but Philip afterwards evinced his affection to Aristotle by giving him funds to rebuild it. When the city was restored and repeopled, Aristotle framed for the inhabitants a code of laws which was permanently observed. Thus the wisdom of one citizen reëstablished, and rendered flourishing, a city which the efforts of many brave men could not preserve from depopulation, pillage, fire, and a sweeping waste, which levelled the deserted buildings, and desolated the surrounding fields. To crown his favours to the tutor of his son, Philip set apart, in the vicinity of Stagira, a park laid out into shady walks, interspersed with alcoves, and ornamented with statues, for the use of the students and sages of the Peripatetic school*.

Philip's esteem for Aristotle, led him frequently to admonish the prince to apply assiduously in the acquisition of wisdom under so great a master, lest he should deviate into acts

* Plut. in Alex.

which might excite remorse and entail infamy. Nor did Alexander dismiss his respect for his instructor as soon as he began to drive his whirling car in the arena of ambition: when the season of tuition had passed, and the prince was immersed in the concerns of government, he maintained an epistolary correspondence with Aristotle; soliciting explanations respecting *arcana* in the sciences, and seeking remedies for correcting his manners. Aristotle on one of these occasions replied, 'That the best way, in 'his opinion, by which Alexander could make 'himself and his subjects happy, was to remem- 'ber that great power was not given him to in- 'jure mankind, but to do them good.' The philosopher, knowing the monarch to be subject to paroxysms of rage, added, 'That he would do 'well to set bounds to his anger; that it was be- 'low him to fly into intemperate sallies of pas- 'sion against his inferiors; and that he had not 'an equal to provoke his indignation.' This plainness was well received. Eventually, however, when Alexander suffered pride to usurp over reason, his deference to Aristotle declined, and was at last displaced by contempt and aversion; the latter became rooted, after he had ordered the death of Calisthenes, which he conceived must have made Aristotle his enemy; after this act, he imagined that the Stagyrite,

incited by revenge, vexed him with disputes, which had no foundation in just principles, under a pretext of despising human grandeur and ambition. At the same time, Alexander discouraged in others the custom of arguing according to the method invented by the philosopher. When Cassander, a short time previous to the death of Alexander, was endeavouring to vindicate his father from a series of weighty charges, Alexander is represented to have interrupted him with this declaration, 'That he 'had become acquainted with the artifices of 'the logic introduced by Aristotle, which 'taught the disputant to elude well-founded 'complaints by fallacious quibbles.' He added, 'That he would inflict exemplary punish-'ment on them both, if he found the accusa-'tion against Antipater to be true.' This he pronounced in so angry a tone, and with so severe a countenance, that when, long after Alexander's death, Cassander, who had become governor of Greece, saw a painting of Alexander at Delphi, his whole frame was agitated with the tremulations of horror; so vividly did the frowning picture impress on his recollection his former imminent danger from Alexander's displeasure: the explanation by Cassander of the strange effect of the picture upon himself, occasioned a turn in the conversa-

tion unfavourable to Aristotle, and a reiteration of the popular rumour, that it was by his contrivance that the poison which killed Alexander was carried to Babylon in a horse's hoof.

Alexander naturally delighted in music, and cultivated it practically from early infancy, till such time as his father asked him in a scornful manner, 'Whether he was not ashamed to play 'so elegantly?' From this moment, he neglected it as an art in which a dexterity rivalling that of professors would not reflect lustre on a diadem. This revolution in his taste happened in the midst of a lesson from his music-master; by whom being afterwards desired to touch a particular string, according to a scientific principle, "What will the consequence be," said Alexander, "if I should touch this?" pointing to another. The master replied: "It is totally "immaterial with a personage who is to be a "king, but it concerns a person who would "be a good performer on musical instruments." Alexander afterwards listened with delight only to music of a strong and manly character, and discouraged with decided antipathy soft effeminate airs, as tending to corrupt the manners. Consistently with this discriminating partiality and dislike, Timotheus, a celebrated musician, attracted his marked notice and favour: this unequalled master moulded his art to the gran-

deur of Alexander's conceptions; and on one occasion so ravished the conqueror of Persia by Phrygian airs, that the magic of his lyre resembled divine inspiration in its effect upon the king, who started transported to seize his arms, as though the appearance of an hostile army had awakened his heroism.

Before Alexander received the three books of rhetoric from Aristotle, he had the benefit of instructions from Anaximenes Lampsacenus, a professor of eloquence. One result of this connection was, to preserve the city of Lampsacum when Alexander had determined to destroy it, because it had espoused the interests of the Persians. Alexander, beholding Anaximenes while approaching without the walls, and apprehending that the rhetorician intended to petition for an amnesty to his country, swore, by the deities of Greece, 'that he would not grant 'that which he should request.' Anaximenes, having overheard this, with great presence of mind implored the conqueror "to destroy Lamp-"sacum." Alexander, bound to mercy by his oath, and charmed to generosity by his old preceptor's address, spared the city, and granted an unqualified pardon to the inhabitants.

Not inheriting his father's partiality to players, Alexander despised COMEDIANS, as a class whose profession did not harmonize with his de-

signs; for he conceived that their exhibitions tended to vitiate publick morals *. Pugilistic *athletæ*, or prize-fighting champions, were generally encouraged to act prominent parts in the games and spectacles of Greece: but these likewise were excluded from the patronage of the

* In support of the above passage, Freinshemius cites *Athen. pr. lib.* xiii. *Dio. Chrysost. orat.* 2; *Plut. cap.* 6. Dr. Gillies, in his History of Greece, cites *Plut. orat.* 2. de *Fortun. Alexand.* in support of the following different representation. "ALEXANDER, DURING HIS EARLY YOUTH, TOOK DELIGHT IN DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENTS. Thessalus was his favourite actor, but Athenadorus was more approved by the publick. To Athenadorus, the magistrates, who, according to the Grecian custom, were appointed to decide the pretensions of rival candidates for theatrical fame, adjudged the prize of merit. The young hero declared, that this decision gave him more pain than he would have felt at the loss of his inheritance." These two statements are not so mutually repugnant, as they may at the first glance seem; and if one stubborn particle of disagreement seems to perplex reconciliation, it may be permitted the translator to observe, that that part of the quotation from Dr. Gillies, which represents Alexander in his *early youth* to have taken delight in dramatic entertainments, unguarded as it is by any qualifying expression, is not borne out by the passage referred to in Plutarch. In other respects, to harmonize the two accounts, it is sufficient merely to bring forward the circumstance, that Thessalus and Athenadorus were TRAGEDIANS; without adverting to the advanced period of Alexander's life in which their rivalry prevailed, and, with it, to the probability that when victory had showered on Alexander inexhaustible means of splendour and luxury, he resigned some severities which both Greeks and Asiatics must have regarded as singular. The comedy of the day might, in Alexander's youth, have shocked him by its coarse personality and indecent buffoonery; and such a governor as Leonidas, would either engage or confirm him in the revolt.

son of Philip, perhaps because he regarded them as pampered drones, who wasted, in tricks upon a stage, that union of strength and activity which would have been usefully exerted in the service of their country. Alexander, however, attentively cherished all arts incontestably beneficial, without narrowly regarding their affinity with his own studies; and his favourable reception of the useful and ingenious, attracted to his court superior artists from all parts of the world, to lay at his feet specimens of their ability; for which they commonly received immense sums, from a magnificent king whose fortune was as expansive as his mind. And it was the common practice of Alexander to transmit liberal presents to inhabitants of remote places who possessed conspicuous virtue, talents, or erudition. This fostering procedure conduced to multiply learned men and excellent artists to such a degree, that scarcely in the age of our own Augustus, did useful employments, elegant arts, and scientific studies, flourish more luxuriantly. Nothing is more incontestable, than that the manners and pursuits of the people are influenced by the example of the prince; and that the improvement, or declension, of a nation, reflects honor, or disgrace, upon those who govern.

CHAP. IV.

Alexander's enthusiastic admiration of Homer. Sketch of his manners. He tames Bucephalus.

ABOVE all the monuments of antiquity, Alexander esteemed the works of Homer. That poet he considered to be the only sage who had given a consummate description of the wisdom by which empires subsist; and he so passionately venerated him, that he was called Homer's lover. He was accustomed to carry the Iliad and Odyssey always about his person; and on retiring to bed, laid them, with his sword, under his pillow; he styled them his "military "Viaticum, and the elements of warlike vir- "tue." He accounted Achilles happy in having his heroic actions celebrated by Mæonides.

Among the treasures taken at Damascus, was a casket of inestimable materials and exquisite workmanship, in which the Persian king had kept rare and costly perfumes. Alexander's attendants, presenting the box, asked him, 'To what use it should be applied?' He answered, "We will dedicate it to Homer, since it "is reasonable, that the most valuable produc- "tion of human intellect should be preserved

" in the finest piece of manual art." Hence the most correct copy of that poet's works, which Alexander had obtained after much research, was called " the edition of the casket."

On a subsequent occasion, Alexander saw a messenger hastily approaching, with his right hand stretched forward, and anticipated welcome expressed in his countenance, as if confident that his intelligence would be grateful. " What news can you tell me," said the king, " that is worthy so much joy, unless it be that " Homer is restored to life?" The Macedonian hero, on the summit of success, deemed that there wanted this alone to complete his happiness—a writer qualified to perpetuate his glory.

By repeatedly reading the poems of Homer, Alexander had them nearly all by memory; so that he quoted them familiarly and appositely; and no person could judge of them more justly. He was charmed with the moral beauty of the verse, wherein Agamemnon is praised, both as a good king and a brave warrior; feeling that it contained strong incentives to virtue, he made it the great standard of his manners.

Master of liberal arts and accomplishments, Alexander preserved in his deportment a dignity suitable to his fortune; while he avoided the haughty and libertine conduct which usually accompanies the possession of uncontrouled

power. His habiliments scarcely distinguished him from a private person; and he declared it to be his opinion, that a prince ought to surpass his subjects rather in the culture of virtue than in the assumption of exterior ornament. His temper was cheerful; and he was affable to his attendants, without sinking to familiarities that would have made him little. He affected no distaste for wine, but avoided intoxication; and when relaxing with his friends, preferred conversation to drinking. He appeared to have extinguished voluptuous wishes, rather than to have regulated them; and from his indifference to the charming half of society, it was apprehended that the house of Macedonia would be left without an heir. Afterwards, he held it as an inviolable law, that he ought not to invade a subject's conjugal rights. To these maxims of life and manners he long adhered; and acted the part of a great and worthy king, till the violent impetus of a current of uninterrupted success shook his moderation, which by degrees he entirely lost.

The young prince astonished his father and the court, by his dexterity in managing the horse Bucephalus, a name given to the animal from his being marked with the figure of an ox's head. Thessaly was then famous for its breed of fine horses, yet none of that country

could be compared to Bucephalus for beauty or vigor; Philonicus, a Pharsalian, considering the noble animal to deserve an illustrious master, brought him to Philip, and offered to sell him for sixteen talents. When the £3600. parties had reached a plain where the horse's speed and temper were to be tried; and one of the king's grooms attempted to mount him, the animal, refusing to be touched, reared and plunged violently; and his fierceness made each of the officers and servants who approached to mount him, relinquish the attempt. Philip regarding so wild and unmanageable an animal as useless, desired that he might be led away. Alexander, however, on hearing this order, cried out: "What an excellent horse are we "going to lose, for want of address and bold-"ness to mount him!" The king at first considered this exclamation to proceed from juvenile rashness; but on Alexander's insisting that it was practicable to ride the horse, permitted him to make the experiment, on condition that he should forfeit the price demanded for it if he failed. The young prince, exulting, advanced to Bucephalus, and seized his bridle; he had observed that the animal had started at the motion of his own shadow, he therefore turned his head toward the sun. Still the horse's fury is not much abated; Alexander strokes his

mane, and speaks to him in a soothing voice. Still the horse foams with rage; but the prince, having gently thrown aside his cloak, vaults into the saddle. Bucephalus, unused to obey, plunges, rears, strikes up his hind-feet, tosses his neck and head, and struggles to overcome the controul of the bit, in order that he may dart away ungoverned. Alexander relaxes the forward rein, at the same moment spurring the horse, and with cheering tones animating him to exert all his swiftness. After flying over a long space, the wearied animal showed an inclination to stop; the prince, again spurring him, kept him at his full speed till his spirit was entirely subdued. After which, he returned with the horse gentle and tractable. When the prince alighted, his father, embracing him with tears of joy and kissing him, said, "My son, seek "out a larger empire, for Macedon is too small "for so vast a spirit." Bucephalus ever afterwards obeyed Alexander with uniform submission, while he maintained his original fierceness towards other persons. The noble animal accompanied his master through successive labours and dangers, till he was killed in the battle against Porus. "Alexander taming his "horse," was a subject which the most eminent artists of that age were emulous to celebrate: two marble equestrian statues, of inimi-

table workmanship, which still remain in a state of preservation, are believed by several writers, who possess judgment in sculpture, to represent this occurrence, and to have been executed by Phidias and Praxiteles as a trial of skill.

CHAP. V.

Alexander, entrusted with the government in Philip's absence, subdues the revolted Medari. He rescues his father in a sedition of the Triballi. Sketch of Philip's career and policy. The Illyrians are reduced by Alexander. The Athenians oppose Philip; and both send ambassadors to Thebes.

BY these and similar proofs of genius and courage, Alexander rose so high in the estimation of Philip, that when the king marched to besiege Byzantium, such confidence had he in the abilities of his son, then but sixteen years of age, that he entrusted him to conduct the affairs of Macedonia in his absence. The Medari, inhabiting a city in Thrace subject to Macedonia, conceiving the government to have been left in incompetent hands, seized this opportunity, as favouring a revolt which they had long meditated. The young prince saw it as an op-

portunity to display his courage and talents; and promptly moved, on an expedition to check their open rebellion, with the commanders and forces which his father had left under his orders. Having taken Medari by storm, and exiled the insurgents, he gave their city to a colony collected from nations less barbarous than the natives; and the new inhabitants called the place Alexandrinopolis, after the name of their founder. Though Philip viewed this decisive affair with satisfaction, still he feared that Alexander might be drawn, by so auspicious a beginning, into undertakings above his ability, should he be left to his own unassisted discretion; the king therefore sent for his son, in order that, under his tuition, and with the benefit of his example, the young hero might learn to moderate ardour by prudence, while he assisted in the reduction of the cities of the Chersonesus by his spirit and alacrity.

The siege of Byzantium had now been protracted a considerable time; the bravery of the inhabitants, seconded by succours from Chios and Rhodes, had prevented Philip from reducing the place; at length a strong reinforcement of Athenians, which had been debarked in the city, and which was commanded by Phocion, deprived him of all expectations of success. Difficulties multiplying round Philip,

made him solicitous to break up from before the city with safety to his men; and he found a pretext, under which he sheltered his honour as a commander.

On a previous occasion, Atheas, king of the Getæ, a people of Scythia, had applied for the interposition of Philip, to repel a formidable inroad of the Istrians; promising, if the Macedonian arms should rescue him from his desperate situation, to make Philip his heir. Soon after, however, the sudden death of the general of the Istrians relieved Atheas from apprehension; and he sent back the Macedonian forces which had been detached to his aid, at the same time refusing to fulfil his promise, which he denied having made, adding, 'That he neither 'wanted their assistance, nor Philip as an heir; 'that he had troops sufficient to defend him 'against his enemies, and that he had a son to 'succeed him in his kingdom.' Philip, incensed at his duplicity, avowed a determination to take immediate vengeance; raised the siege of Byzantium; and marched his troops into Scythia. In a general engagement with the Barbarians, he defeated them by the masterly disposition of his army, notwithstanding their superiority in number. The fruits of the victory were a long train of female captives and children; innumerable groups of cattle, which

moved with the army of the Getæ, and constituted the wealth of a people, who boasted that they could combat with cold, poverty, and famine; a proportion of arms and war-chariots *, which the Macedonians preserved as trophies; and twenty thousand mares, kept for breeding war-horses, which Philip proposed to transport to his stud at Pella. This spoil, altogether, was of a kind rather to encumber than enrich the victors.

To Philip, on his way to Scythia, had been granted an unconditional passage through the country of the Triballi, who then displayed every appearance of submission †. These people, however, in order to extort a share of the booty, with which Philip was returning,—having seized all the defiles, opposed his march in a narrow situation, near the Mœsian mountains, where his immense equipage and baggage embarrassed his movements. This unexpected attack threw the Macedonian army into confusion. At the same moment, some Greek mercenaries in the service of Philip made a similar demand with the Triballi, and flew to arms to enforce it ‡: this produced a conflict between the mercenaries and the native Macedonians. It was a severe vicissitude for a commander

* Justin, lib. ix. 2. † Ibid, lib. ix. 3. ‡ Curt. lib. viii. 1.

flushed with recent victory, suddenly to see his army surrounded and assailed by perfidious allies, and engaged in its own destruction: the king rushed to the spot where the tumultuous carnage was most violent, and for a long time fought with prevailing bravery. At length his horse sunk under him, wounded; and the same weapon which had penetrated the beast, pierced the thigh of the rider, who now lay senseless on the ground, surrounded by ferocious enemies. The young prince Alexander, who had rivalled Philip in heroic acts, flew, with his noblest and bravest attendants, to the rescue of his father. He himself covered him with his shield; the enemy was repulsed, and the king conveyed in safety from the tumult. His danger inspired the Macedonians with the furious spirit of revenge; and the Triballi, who shrunk from their decisive attack, fled and dispersed: but, during the disorder of the Macedonians, the Barbarians had seized the opportunity to carry off the greatest part of the booty.

Olymp. cx. 1. *A. C.* 340. *Alex. ætat.* 17.

Philip's wound was followed by a permanent lameness; an inconvenience which he is represented to have borne with great impatience. On one occasion, when a peevish expression had escaped him, Alexander calmed him by an answer which has been deservedly celebrated:

" How can you, Sir, regret an accident, which, " at every step you take, recals your valour to " remembrance?"

At this stage of his career, Philip had received a variety of wounds, and had been exposed to a series of imminent dangers, sufficient to repress an ordinary courage; and his acquisitions of power and fame might have satisfied a reasonable ambition. He had triumphed over Pausanias* and Argæus†, two active competitors with him for the throne, and thus secured its peaceable possession. Macedonia, when he undertook the government, was pressed, and in great part overrun, by four formidable enemies; the Pæonians, the Thracians, the Illyrians, and the Athenians‡; these his arms and policy had vanquished, converted into allies and tributaries, or neutralized‖. The publick calamities, previous to his reign, had rendered gold so scarce in his kingdom, that to Philip, a solitary cup of that metal appeared of so much value, that, to ensure it safe custody, when he retired to rest, it was placed on his pillow§: this public penury he had gradually transmuted into

* Diod. Sic. l. xvi. 3. Thucyd. l. ii. 37.

† Demost. in Aristoc. ‡ Diod. Sic. l. xvi. 2, 71.

‖ Ibid. 4. Demost. Olynth. iii. 6. Æschin. in Ctes. sect. 27, 30. Athen. l. xiii. p. 557. Æschin. de fal. leg. sect. 26. Dem. de fal. leg. sect. 42, 47, 52.

§ Athen. l. iv. p. 155.

opulence: his first advances in Thrace made him permanently master of Crenidæ, which received from the conqueror the new name of Philippi; to this place were appended gold mines, from which he derived an annual revenue of ten thousand talents*. £2,250,000.
The important city of Amphipolis he had reunited to Macedon†. His KINGDOM, including Thessaly, which he in effect commanded, was NOW bounded by the lake Lycnitis, on the north-west, whence it extended on the opposite side to the Thracian sea; the Pindus chain of mountains formed its south-western frontier; the oblique direction of those mountains left the Thessalian part of his territory a narrow limit, on the south, touching Locris and Phocis; and its eastern indented outline was washed by the Ægean sea‡. The *Chalcidian* territories Philip had acquired rather by bribes than force of arms‖; and, notwithstanding an example at its very doors, had been suffered to reduce *Olynthus* and its dependencies, by influencing the banishment of Apollonides, an upright and able general, and by corrupting the leaders, Euthy-

* Diod. Sic. l. xvi. 9. Asclepiodotus in Seneca. Nat. Quæs. l. v. p. 765. Ed. Lips.

† Diod. Sic. l. xvi. 8. Dem. Olyn. iii. 6.

‡ Leland's Philip. vol. i. 125. vol. ii. 39.

‖ Dem. de fal. leg. sect. 75. Diod. Sic. l. xvi. 52, 53.

crates and Lasthenes, who concerted the surrender of the city *. The *Thessalians* had lost their freedom by calling in Philip to support it; he had divided the country into four districts, and appointed the chiefs; their cavalry, the best in Greece, were obliged to attend him in his wars; the direction of their revenue he assumed; their ports and shipping were, by treaty, at his disposal; the remonstrances which he provoked from these subservient allies, by filling Magnesia and Pagasæ with Macedonian garrisons, he disregarded or eluded; by intriguing with Eudicus and Simo, he had extended his grasp to the fortress of Larissa; two other corrupt Thessalian governors, Agathocles and Thrasideus, whom he flattered with small commands, connived at his holding Pheræ and Echinus; lastly, he had publickly purchased the town of Antron, which commanded the Euripus of Chalcis †. Pursuing a course in *Thrace*, compounded of open conquest and insidious encroachment, he had followed the possession of Philippi, by taking the city of Methone ‡, situated on the Thermaic bay, at the distance of forty stadia [four miles and a half] from Pydna;

* Dion. Halic. Ep. ad Amm. t. vi. p. 736.

† Diod Sic. lib. xvi. p 418. Dem. de Corona, sect. 15. Dem. Phil. ii. 4. Phil. iii. 6, 7. Phil. iv. 3. Athen. l. vi. p. 259.

‡ Dem. Phil. i. 13. Diod. Sic. l. xvi. 34.

had intruded forces into Pydna, and Potidæa another maritime city*; had become master of the promontories Pallenè and Ampelus; occupied the cities of Ganos Ergiske: ceasing to dissemble with his ally Cersobletes, he had deposed him, confined him to the Sacred Mount, and extorted from him his son as an hostage†: the Macedonian king, liberal of protection, had erected forts in the dominions of Cithelas, another petty sovereign of Thrace, and imposed a tribute on the people amounting to a tenth of the revenue: his conquest of the Odrysian Thrace was nearly complete‡. Under similar pretensions, he had amused, and now governed, the inhabitants of *Cardia* in the Chersonesus‖. He had reduced *Cappadocia* to be a province of Macedon§; had made successful incursions into Illyria and Dardania¶; and had disposed of the crown of Epirus**. He had attained the important object of being admitted a member of the Hellenic body, entitled to send representatives to the council of the Amphictyons††: his great design was to be-

* Dem. Phil. i. 2. † Æschin. in Ctes. sect. 30.
‡ Dem. de fal. leg. sect. 47. Lucian. Encom. Dem.
‖ Phil. Lit. ad Athen. § Just. l. viii. 3.
¶ Ibid. 6. Apollod. Lit. ** Diod. Sic. l. xvi. 72.
†† Diod. Sic. xvi. 59, 60. Dem. de pace in fin. Dem. de fal. leg. 36.

come sovereign of *Greece*, toward the accomplishment of which he had considerably advanced. *Sparta* and *Athens* were the powers most able to oppose his enterprizes: but he had weakened and embarrassed both. His profession of disinterested readiness to succour the oppressed, revived as uniformly as it was falsified, had drawn from the *Argians* and *Messenians* a request, that he would interpose; and assert, against Sparta, their rights to govern themselves as distinct states; and that he would settle the boundaries between them: he answered their application by landing a force in Laconia; the Peloponnesians crowded to his standard; this prompt coöperation enabled him to reduce the fortress of Trinasus, and to dictate to Lacedæmon a treaty, marking a boundary favourable to Argos, and recognising the separate sovereignty of Messenia; his plan was to embrace *Sicyonia* in the league, and he secured the liberty of the confederated cities by placing at their head men devoted to him *. *Megara*, after being alternately subject to the Spartans and Athenians, now possessed nominal independence, under the auspices of Philip, to whose good offices it had been consigned by Pteodorus and Perilaus, as far as the influence

* Phil. ii. Tourr. Sommaire. Frontin. lib. iii. 8. 1. Strabo. lib. viii. p. 361. Dem. de Corona, 91.

of those corrupt citizens extended*. To repeat transactions between Cunning and Fatuity: he had induced the *Achæans* and *Ætolians* to make him arbiter in a dispute respecting the city of Naupactus; of which, after they had entrusted it to his hands, he kept an unrelaxing hold†. Sapping further the outworks of Sparta, he had loosened, if not destroyed, the dependence of *Arcadia* upon the principal state‡. While thus conducting his approaches on every side of Sparta, he feared directly to assail her, having experienced that her public men were uncorrupt‖. Luxurious *Corinth* felt not in her extremities only, but in her bosom, the effects of his system: Philip, indeed, to allay in the Athenians a spirit of opposition excited by Demosthenes, had relinquished the siege of Ambracia, a Corinthian settlement in Epirus; and here the artifice of appearing to recede, ended; he forcibly reduced the city of Leucas, another colony from the Isthmus; while, by his creature Demaratus, and other residents in Corinth, whom his bribes had vitiated, he completely governed the parent state; having here insolently appeared as a spectator at the public games, the people so abused by their leaders, received him with demonstrations of disgust,

* Oliv. l. xi. p. 152. Dem. de fal. leg. sect. 83.
† Dem. Phil. iii. sect. 7. ‡ Pausan. in Arcad. ‖ Ibid. in Achaicis.

an affront which he had the policy to overlook at the moment, though he appears to have wanted the magnanimity to forget or to pardon it, as, at the destruction of Phocis, he involved Corinth in a deprivation of privileges, and by the transfer of them to himself increased his own ascendancy*. In the SACRED WAR—as the contest for the possession of the temple at Delphi was termed, which was maintained, under various reverses, between the *Phocians* and their allies against the *Locrians* and their allies; in this war, by which some of the fairest and strongest countries of Greece were desolated and enfeebled,—Philip long concealed his intentions to interfere, satisfied if he could keep alive the general indignation against the Phocians. When, at length, the magnitude of his military preparations, and their object, could not be disguised; he amused the Athenians, (to whom Phocis was a barrier,) by permitting them to hope, that he would merely complete the punishment of sacrilegious individuals, which the Phocians themselves had already begun, and that he would not proceed to the extremity of subverting the Phocian state†: at the same time, by artful representations, he effected in the minds

* Plut. in Apophth. Lucian de Conscrib. Hist. p. 347, 348. Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 60. And see, *infra*, page 50.

† Dem. de fal. leg. sect. 20.

of the Phocians themselves, a distrust of Lacedæmon their public-spirited and powerful ally *. Under the pretence of supporting the cause of Apollo, Philip's army now advanced: Phaleucus, who, with eight thousand Phocians, was charged to defend the pass at Thermopylæ, was allured to a negociation; and the indecision of this general surrendered, without a struggle, the key of Greece, merely stipulating for the advantage of retiring unmolested †. The trembling inhabitants, destitute of defence, signed a treaty, implicitly submitting the punishment of the violators of the temple to the decision of the Macedonian invader, with a vague reservation that the state should be spared. Philip convened the Amphictyonic council to determine the fate of Phocis; the deputies of the Thessalians, Locrians, and Bœotians, all devoted to him, only were present. Under their decree, or rather under the latitude of advantages which the prostrate and desperate condition of the Phocians gave to their vindictive enemies, twenty walled cities, the ornament and boast of Phocis, were dismantled, and reduced to hamlets of sixty houses each; of the wretched inhabitants—who saw their public edifices, their

* Æschin. de fal leg. sect. 41. Dem. de fal. leg. sect. 18.

† Dem. Phil. ii. sect. 4. De pace, sect. 5. Lucchesini in Phil. 2. Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 59.

temples, and the tombs of their ancestors destroyed—the bulk were driven into slavery. The transfer to Philip of their privilege to send representatives to the council of the Amphictyons, greatly increased his influence over Greece: from the Corinthians, as allies of Phocis, at the same time were torn the privileges of presiding at the Pythian games, and of superintending the oracle; which were to be thenceforth exercised by Philip, by the Bœotians, and by the Thessalians conjointly *. Philip delivered the custody of Thermopylæ to the Thessalians, and garrisoned Nicæa with Macedonians, by which he in effect commanded those important streits †; thus he was enabled to intimidate *Thebes* towards an alliance with him, and into a dereliction of the alliance of Athens. Further, by the possession of Thermopylæ, he had made an opening for a DIRECT incursion into *Athens* at the moment which he might select. His CIRCUITOUS hostilities against Attica, were not confined to his proceedings in Olynthus, or in the Chersonesus, or to the other encroachments already related: he had taken the islands of Lemnos and Imbros ‡, and the

* Dem. de fal. leg. sect. 21. Dem. de Corona, sect. 12; et Phil. iii. sect. 8. Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 60. Pausan. in Phoc.

† Dem. Phil. iii. sect. 3, 8. Dem. Orat. in Lit. sect. 2.

‡ Leland's Philip. iii. 1.

island of Halonesus *; he had subjected all the tract between the rivers Nessus and Hebrus, whence pursuing his encroachments, he might soon grasp the cities on the Propontis †: from the Athenian dependency of Eubœa, indeed, his forces, with his creatures Hipparchus, Clitarchus, Philistides, and Automedon, had been expelled by the policy of Demosthenes, seconded by the military skill of Phocion ‡: but while Philip had footing there, he had demolished the fortifications of Porthmus, and arranged measures for invading the island at a future time ‖. Even as a naval power, Macedonia had begun successfully to rival Athens; Philip's fleet had surprised several transports of the Athenians; Amyntas, his vigilant admiral, by successful enterprizes, disconcerted their naval expeditions; making a bold descent on the coast of Attica, he had insulted the Athenians by capturing the sacred galley at Marathon; he had debarked forces at Salamis, and other islands under the protection of their state, whence he had carried away numerous prisoners; and he had defeated their fleet off Byzantium §. But the most lamentable symptom of debility in Athens, was

* Epist. Phal. † Dem. Phil. iii. 4. Oliv. lib. xii. p. 196.
‡ Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 74. ‖ Dem. Phil. iii. 12—14.
§ Leland's Philip. iii. 1. Dem. de Corona, 23. Hesychius de situ Orb.

the profligacy of the public men: her orators, by whom proceedings relative to the state were materially influenced, were, the major part, in the pay of Philip; and Athenian ambassadors at the court of Pella, had been found flagitious enough to expose to the intriguing Macedonian the weak parts of their country *.

At length, the people of Attica, alarmed by the encroachments of Philip, were, by the eloquence of Demosthenes, confirmed in the resolution to oppose his progress; the Athenian community now perceived, that the most solemn pacific engagements would not prevent him from acting as an enemy in the calm of peace, if, by a sudden stroke, he could seize an advantage; and their great orator impressed on them the danger of inactivity, while the bold and politic Macedonian was pursuing his plans. On the other hand, Philip saw it necessary no longer to dissemble his resentment against the Athenians, who had caused his late miscarriage at Byzantium, by exciting the citizens of Chios and Rhodes to pour succours into the place, and by sending thither, on their own part, a fleet of an hundred and twenty sail, with land-forces under Chares, a commander who was afterwards superseded by Phocion †. Philip, while the

* Dem. de fal. leg. sect. 42. De Corona, sect. 48, 49.
† Plut. in vit. Phocion.

wound which he had received in the country of the Triballi was under cure, had made formidable preparations for war, incessantly but covertly; intending to fall upon the Athenians when their suspicions should be lulled, and their means of defence low. For keeping on foot a large army, his constant pretext had been, that it was a mere measure of vigilance against the Illyrians; and that fierce people, impatient of subjection, had, in truth, attempted to break the yoke which he had imposed.

Alexander had, meanwhile, been detached against these Barbarians, whom he soon defeated and dispersed. This success, and his judicious measures to prevent them from again revolting, together with a recollection of his previous achievements, inspired his countrymen with high expectations from his fortune and ability: nor did he materially differ from them in their estimate of the "great young prince," for he began to conceive himself competent to the conduct of a campaign, or the government of a province, unassisted by his father's direction. These transactions happened during the extraordinary military preparations in Macedon, which proceeded unremittingly for two years.

The politic Philip also employed the war upon the Amphissæans, in which he professed to interfere as the vindicator of the Amphictyons

and Apollo, as a mask for assembling an army, more, in a vast disproportion, than adequate to that object. He had been appointed general of the Greeks by a decree of the Amphictyons, to chastise the insolence of a part of the Locrians called Ozolæ, inhabitants of Amphissa, who, in contempt of the authority of the Amphictyonic council, continued to occupy the territory of Cyrrha, a tract of land dedicated to Apollo. The Amphissæans, at first, to gain time, dissembled submission, and entered into a treaty with Cottyphus, the general sent with the concurrence of Philip against them: but they afterwards refused to execute the treaty; and, in a skirmish, wounded Cottyphus, and destroyed or dispersed his attendants *.

Now, Philip had completed his preparations, and the recent conduct of the Amphissæans furnished him with a pretext for transporting his army into Greece. He had induced the Athenians to remove their fleet from a station where it would have obstructed the descent of his armament, by contriving that they should intercept letters from himself to Antipater, signifying that commotions in Thrace required his presence there †. While the people of Attica reposed on his being engaged in a distant expedi-

* Æschin. in Ctes. † Polyæn. lib. iv. cap. 2. stratag. 8.

tion, he, in the spring of the year, debarked unmolested near Amphissa.

Philip was at that time in alliance with the Athenians; but this they viewed as a slender security, if the king could derive any advantage from perfidy*. A body of ten thousand mercenaries, which they had hired to assist the Amphissæans, were, in the mean time, defeated†. The Athenian people perceiving that the Macedonian army, under pretence of completing the vengeance of the god, was ready to enter Attica with fire and sword, resolved to send an embassy to Philip to demand a truce, though at this time no declaration of war had proceeded from either party. The ambassadors were commissioned to exhort him, 'To preserve that harmony, and to adhere to those engagements, 'which had hitherto subsisted between them, 'or at least to refrain from hostility till the 'spring was advanced to the month Thargelion. 'In the mean time, the Athenians would deliberate on measures that might prevent or accommodate apprehended differences.'

The inhabitants of menaced Attica sent another embassy to Thebes; proposing, by a vivid picture of the common danger, to engage that state to coöperate in asserting the independence

* Dem. in Ctesiphon. 52. † Ibid. Dem. de Corona.

of Greece. But Philip preserved his connection with the Thebans, through the mediation of his partizans; the chief of whom, Timolaus, Theogiton, and Anemætas, had great influence over their countrymen. Having already overcome the Locrians and their confederates at Amphissa; and confident of reaching his ultimate object, should he have to contend with the Athenians only, he transported his army, by forced marches, into Phocis. He surprized Elatea, a station commanding equally the borders of Thebes and Attica, which he fortified and garrisoned, as though the vicinity were marked out to be the seat of war. The news that Philip had taken possession of Elatea first arrived at Athens late in the evening; the whole city was filled with consternation, which was so long in subsiding, that when the people had assembled early the next morning, and the cryer had invited any person to offer his sentiments as to the measures which might conduce to the publick safety, no individual stood up to speak. At length Demosthenes, to whom all eyes were turned, arose: he concluded a short oration, altogether suited to the crisis, by proposing, 'That 'a fleet of two hundred vessels should be equip-'ped to cruise in the streits of Thermopylæ; 'that the cavalry and infantry should march 'under their respective generals to Eleusis; and

'that ambassadors should be sent to the states 'of Greece, particularly to the Thebans, whose 'confines Philip more immediately threaten-'ed.' Under a decree adopting this proposition, Chares and Lysicles were appointed to command the forces, and Demosthenes was named at the head of the embassy to Thebes.

Philip, whose vigilance these proceedings could not elude, was convinced that he should be involved in a difficult war, should the two states confederate; for the Athenians were still opulent and powerful; nor were the numbers, and skill, and courage, of the Thebans to be lightly estimated; Fame still spoke of the battle of Leuctra, which had wrested the sovereignty of Greece from the Lacedæmonians. In order to foil the Athenian politics, and to confirm his Grecian allies, Philip sent to Thebes, as his ambassadors, Amyntas and Clearchus, natives of Macedon, accompanied by Python, the celebrated orator of Byzantium. The Thessalians deputed Daochus and Thrasidæus, two creatures devoted to the court of Pella. Separate ministers went thither also on the part of the Ætolians, the Dolopes, the Ænians, and Phthiotes *.

Now, at Thebes, the popular assembly was convened. The representatives of Philip had the

* Plut. in Dem.

distinction of first addressing it; and Python, in the name of this prince and his allies, delivered this artful harangue:

CHAP. VI.

The Speech of Python.

" IF you were not in alliance with Philip,—if " the Athenian army now possessed Elatea, " while the king remained inactive in Mace- " donia,—yet, even then, I can have no doubt " that you would be desirous of his friendship " and alliance. For, indeed, who would not " prefer the coöperation of a brave and power- " ful king whose exploits are innumerable, to " connection with a republic whose reputation " and illusive splendour are superior to its " strength? But, now, since that prince, who " has victorious troops stationed in what may " be considered the very gates of your city, is " your friend and protector;—and since you " have, from the earliest times up to this pe- " riod, received multiplied affronts and injuries " from the Athenians, the last of which are too " recent to require to be named,—it would be " an insolent attempt to persuade you, by an " alliance with them, to contemn and forfeit

" the friendship of so illustrious a king. But
" the people of Attica, who excel every nation
" in pride and vanity, conceive, that they alone
" are intelligent and prudent, and that all the
" rest of mankind, but especially the Bœotians,
" (for it is chiefly YOU that they insult,) are
" stupid, and impolitic, and incapable of dis-
" tinguishing what is profitable or honest.
" Thus they confidently expect to allure you
" into a conduct into which you can never
" plunge without sinking really into the fatuity
" imputed to you by malignant rivals; they
" expect you to choose friends and enemies
" according to the dictates of their caprices, in
" opposition to your own benefit, relying on a
" flourishing verbiage, in which consists all
" their strength. But no man in his senses
" ever preferred words to actions—especially in
" war, wherein the hands are serviceable, but
" the exercise of the tongue is impertinent.
" Whatever reliance they may place on their
" eloquence, the fortune and virtue of Philip
" must always continue superior: His native
" forces, brave, disciplined, experienced; the
" auxiliaries who cordially and ably second him,
" are both assured of conquest guided by his
" military talents. Plainly speaking, it is hard
" to say, whether the folly or the impudence of
" their demands be greatest. *Thebans!* say

" they, *expose your heads to the thunder that*
" *hovers over Athens; and at the hazard of ruin*
" *that will else never reach you, make war upon a*
" *king who is your friend and ally, that we may*
" *continue in safety. Stake your lands, your*
" *lives, on a desperate chance, to prevent Philip*
" *from retaliating injuries from the Athenians!!!*
" Are these the demands of men who are in
" their senses, or who think that the parties
" addressed retain the use of theirs? Those
" people who, but very lately, seized every oc-
" casion to oppress you; who carried reproach-
" es, outrages, and hostilities, against you, to
" the utmost limits of their power; founding
" on your dangers and misfortunes their ascend-
" ancy and happiness; those same people have
" the effrontery to propose to you to perish
" with them, rather than to be victorious with
" Philip.

" This great prince, who was once in the
" bosom of Thebes as your guest and foster-
" child, who was educated under your celebra-
" ted leader, Epaminondas; this prince, whose
" life and morals are fair as white-robed Can-
" dour, has from his infancy imbibed an affec-
" tion for your city, and the economy and
" manners of its inhabitants. Philip revenged
" the injuries done to you and to Apollo in the
" Phocian war, when the Athenians, out of

" hatred to you, sent succours to a native of
" your country who had committed both rebel-
" lion and sacrilege. The king, invited a second
" time, by the unanimous decree of the Am-
" phictyons, to act as their general, revenged
" the contempt of the same deity upon the
" Locrians. He has marched hither to consult
" your interests, nor proposes to depart till he
" has delivered you from the fear of that rival
" city which has always been your enemy. If
" you are inclined to promote this design by
" your common councils and forces, his plan
" will allot you a share in the booty, rather
" than a share in the war. Should you prefer
" remaining neuter, he solicits only a passage;
" unassisted, he is able to revenge all your
" common injuries: even in that case you shall
" reap equal fruits of victory. The flocks,
" herds, and slaves, won from the enemy, will,
" by a natural division, mostly be assigned to
" you, as immediate neighbours of the Athe-
" nians: thus you will be compensated for the
" loss which you sustained in the Phocian war.
" Waving every influence but that of reason, I
" leave you to decide, whether this will not be
" more to your advantage, than to have your
" fields wasted, your towns stormed, set on fire,
" dilapidated, and plundered, and all your con-
" cerns involved in that irreparable state of de-

" rangement and ruin which will gratify the " national jealousy of the Athenians.

" Nor harbour unworthy apprehensions of " Philip; unjustly to suspect sincerity, is often " to convert it into rage; and the purest good- " will, slighted, aspersed, or attacked, insensi- " bly takes the appearance, if not the feelings, " of bitter revenge. I do not say this, as up- " braiding you with ingratitude, of which I " trust you will betray no symptoms; nor to " influence your decisions by terror, a stimulus " of which I am confident your manly natures " are unsusceptible,—but I place in review " Philip's good offices towards you, and yours " towards him, merely to convince you, that " those alliances only are firm and perpetual, " which it is the interest of both parties to ob- " serve. If he, by undisputed services, has " merited more from you, than you have yet " had an opportunity to return, by benefiting " him; it will be virtuous in you to display a " correspondent goodness of disposition, and " to use every effort to rival him in this re- " spect. In his estimation, the most gratify- " ing recompense for all his labours, is his " having contributed to the protection of " Greece; for the safety and honour of which, " he has been engaged in unremitting hostili- " ties with the Barbarians. Would to the gods

" the madness of the Athenians had permitted
" him to obey the genuine impulses of his
" mind. You would have heard, by this time,
" that his arms, which he is now constrained to
" employ in Greece to repress the disturbances
" of the seditious and ill-designing, were tri-
" umphant in Asia. He might certainly have
" been on friendly terms with the Athenians, if
" he had not thought it degrading to himself,
" and holding a bad example to others, to be-
" come tributary to this Demosthenes, and
" some other turbulent speakers, who drive the
" ignorant multitude whither they please, by
" the breath of their orations, as the winds
" drive the waves of the sea. Doubtless had
" they any sense of honesty, or value for ho-
" nour, they would do their duty without being
" bribed to it. But they who are accustomed
" to vend their reputation, make no distinction
" between what is beneficial and what is perni-
" cious, between justice and injustice, provided
" they can extract as much advantage from
" wickedness as from integrity; their moving
" principle is interest, not the love of virtue or
" their country, nor respect for gods or men.
" In vain will you desire any thing from those
" men, that shall prove substantially good or
" reputable; they who have the interest of
" their country so lightly at heart, can never

" feel a sincere concern for your interests; they " will involve you in a repetition of the calami- " ties from which you have been so lately ex- " tricated by the fidelity and courage of the " Macedonians. Or, rather, they would involve " you in calamities much weightier; as Philip " would, as an enemy, be more formidable to " you than Philomelus or Onomarchus was.

" Consider, too, that where a military com- " mand is holden on the precarious tenure of " popularity, the schemes of an able general are " as liable to be disconcerted by his own coun- " trymen, as by the enemy. Whereas no one " dares to oppose or disobey a king; his will is " the rule by which his people are governed: " and of what importance in war a prompt and " implicit execution of orders is, you all know. " Nor is that advantage of the Macedonians " dependent on the life or talents of one per- " son: though fate should deprive us of Philip, " we have an Alexander to rise up in his stead, " who in the spring of youth has given such " proofs of genius and courage, that we have " firm grounds for expecting that he will equal " the most renowned generals. On the con- " trary, among the Athenians the power of " making peace or war resides in all the people " promiscuously; there, the most impudent " pretender assumes it as the prerogative of

" him who is bold enough first to seize it. " There, government is managed rather by " starts of passion than by the impulses of wis- " dom communicated after counsel and delibe- " ration: men who design evil, persuade; and " the ignorant decree: war is undertaken with " more heat than it is pursued; and treaties are " broken with the same ease and levity with " which they are made.

" At this hour, the Athenians are engaged " by treaty to Philip: the inviolable sacred- " ness with which they keep it, appears in " their behaviour. Not satisfied with staining " their own characters with perfidy, they la- " bour to infect you with the contagion; but " your firmness, O Thebans! which has con- " tributed not less to your celebrity and great- " ness, than your talents and courage crowned " so often by victory have, leaves no room to " doubt that you will prefer the alliance of a " king, of whose friendship you have had re- " peated proofs, to hazardous connection with " a city, which, from envy of your glory, has " often been your open, constantly your secret " enemy; always more your enemy than she " has dared to avow, even in actual war.

" Will Hercules, the averter of evil, the na- " tive deity whom your city adores, the hero " who is venerated as the fellow-citizen of the

" ancient Thebans, suffer you to fight on the " side of injustice and impiety, against a king " who is his descendant, and who has been " the successful vindicator of the cause of " Apollo?

" As for the deputies of the other allies, " now surrounding me, you may learn from " themselves what value they set upon Philip's " friendship."

Python delivered this speech with extraordinary heat and violence, as if dictated by sincere conviction. The representatives of the other allies were next heard; applauding and echoing the sentiments of Python, they exhorted the Thebans, " To coöperate with the " great and pious prince, the protector of the " religion and liberty of Greece, rather than " with the Athenians, the disturbers of its " peace."

CHAP. VII.

The Speech of Demosthenes.

DEMOSTHENES arose. This statesman and patriot thus addressed the assembly:

" I was not ignorant that those mercena- " ries of Philip would spare neither their praises

" of him, nor their reproaches against us: for " they who have dismissed the troublesome " sense of shame, are not solicitous how far " they outrage truth or propriety, to gain their " point. But, O Thebans! if I correctly esti- " mate your temper and principles, these emis- " saries will find expectations by which they " dishonour you, disappointed; and they will " be the mortified messengers to Philip of a re- " solution on your part, worthy of your virtue " and of the discipline of the Greeks. In the " meanwhile, let me prevail upon you fully to " weigh, and to pursue to their consequences, " the opposite propositions which may be sub- " mitted to you. That your whole fortune de- " pends upon this day's deliberation, I shall " show by invincible arguments, and not by " the magic of words, by which they pretend " to fear that a reflecting assembly may be de- " luded. They may lay aside apprehensions, by " which they asperse *you* rather than *me*; for we " who speak on the part of Athens, do not feel " it necessary to endeavour to be more eloquent " than they; which in us were a useless ambition. " A bad cause, indeed, must owe every chance " of success to the power of eloquence, which " may so disguise impudent misrepresentations " fluently uttered, that even the intelligent do " not hear them with the disgust which false-

" hood ought to excite: but when a speaker " can be secure of prevailing by unadorned " truth, if he is judicious, he will not have re- " course to a trifling and meretricious flourish " of words.

" As to Philip, we have no immediate con- " cern with his character; his relation to us " ought to remain too distant to enable either " the Athenian or Theban public to pronounce " whether he resembles the picture which his " encomiasts have drawn; without too inti- " mate an examination, let us admit that he is " handsome, eloquent, and convivial; for some " persons have praised him even for these qua- " lities, and thus confessed his want of title to " real glory.

" But I feel astonishment not to be suppres- " sed, that his ambassador should deliberately re- " proach us, the representatives of Athens, in your " presence, with things, which if they are crimes " or weaknesses, affect the Thebans with op- " probrium as strongly as ourselves. They " have expatiated on the inconveniencies of a " popular form of government; of which both " you and we are sensible of the imperfections; " and yet we prefer this form of government to " regal despotism. They have spoken to you " in such a strain as if they intended to tickle " the ears of a Macedonian assembly, or as if

" their instructions were to reconcile slaves to " degradation, or prisoners to restraint—not as " if they had been sent to a free city, respect- " fully to execute the office of ambassadors. " We knew, before, the irreconcileable hatred " which kings and their slaves have to free cities " and independent states; and they have acted " very foolishly, in reminding us of this: their " avowed hostilities against liberties which we " enjoy in common, Thebans! should make us " more vigilant to defend our laws and pri- " vileges.

" It should be the general wish and prayer, " above all things, that those who are called " to agitate or administer affairs in common- " wealths, were engaged in no other than this " glorious contention—*Who should propose mea-* " *sures most effectively promoting the public in-* " *terest; and who should execute with most fide-* " *lity and success, the plans which the delibera-* " *tive bodies had adopted.* Then none would " prefer his private advantage to the public " good; none would consult his individual re- " putation rather than the glory of the state; " none would receive bribes; and none would " betray his country to Philip, after the ex- " ample of these deputies. But, Thebans! per- " fect, unalloyed felicity, was never the lot of " any man or any state: he is the happiest,

" whose circumstances are freest from misfor-
" tunes. It is past dispute that Athens has
" had bad citizens; and such are now in her
" bosom; nor have you, Thebans! been with-
" out them at former times, nor are you at this
" time. If this were not so, Philip, so far
" from threatening our liberty, this day, from
" Elatea, would have to contend with us for
" the possession of Macedonia. However, we
" are not destitute of good citizens, and these
" are more numerous and more powerful than
" the bad. Do you want a proof of this? We
" are free: we are not Philip's slaves, as you,
" Python! shall be disappointed in making
" your Byzantines: but as for you, Daochus!
" and you, Thrasidæus! ye have sold your
" Thessalians to the king. In effect, Thebans!
" you behold Thessaly languishing at this mo-
" ment under servitude to Philip; and if I mis-
" take not, you deplore, as deeply as we, that
" they should have sunk under oppression. As
" to Byzantium, it owes no grateful return to
" Python, if it has not been reduced to the
" same level with Olynthus: its deliverance
" was effected by us. Philip, the pious pro-
" tector of Greece, venerable on account of his
" disinterestedness; in the paternal exercise of
" power so extensive as to excite general alarm,
" but for his moderation; suddenly resolved to

" subdue that Greek city, when, reposing on " the sufficient security of alliance with him, " it had no apprehension that its independence " would be attacked. Behold in what consist " the astonishing intelligence, the ennobling " qualities of this applauded ruler! With him, " cunning and duplicity are the essential foun- " dations of policy; perjury is a liberal art; " perfidy, a master virtue.

" If this be not the clue to the source of " our miscarriages and his elevation, we would " beseech him to inform us by what steps he " climbed to his formidable height. Let him " tell us, whether he has not surprized the con- " fiding Greeks by fraud? whether he has not " overcome his friends by stratagem, and his " allies by confederating against them? whe- " ther he has not bought victories of the Bar- " barians with gold, oftener than he has won " them with the sword? whether he ever hesi- " tated to plight his fidelity, or to violate it? " whether, if he could prevail on himself equi- " tably to fulfil an engagement, he would not " deceive the Thebans and Athenians, who " now begin to penetrate his character?

" To him these deputies give the title of " protector of Greece, and call us the disturb- " ers of it! But what absurdity or excess will " be avoided as shameful, by men who had ra-

" ther impute to us their own crimes, than " make a candid confession of their guilt? If " any one, I address myself to you, O deputies " from Philip's abused allies! had committed " treason, or had taken bribes, it would in you " be in character, and consistent with your in- " terest, to defend him by the shield of silence " from the punishment of the laws. By cla- " morous accusations against us, of which you " can bring no proof, you do but remind the as- " sembly of your own notorious corruption. If " you make us remember that you are Philip's " creatures unintentionally, where is your pru- " dence or common sense? If, in your previous " deliberations, you have decided that each one " of you shall make the experiment, whether " his colleagues can stand without confusion, " and hear the public mention of bribes and " treason, what have you done with the faculty " of shame?

" It is a sufficient vindication of my inno- " cence, and of theirs who are embarked in the " same cause, that you yourselves admit that " we have received nothing from Philip; for " had we shown a willingness to be gained by " presents, we should not have left his court " empty-handed, if he is the liberal king which " you pretend him to be. Would a politic in- " triguer, who thought it worth his while to

" corrupt you, forbear to engage us by bribes,
" if it were practicable?

" But you have just now admonished the
" Thebans not to follow the counsel of those
" who have not at heart the interests of their
" country. From this moment, I cease to op-
" pose them, Thebans! if they really urge that
" advice from principle. In that single senti-
" ment I can join them; and I exhort and en-
" treat you, with the earnestness of a sincere
" friend to the liberties of Greece, I conjure
" you, as you value the independence of Thebes,
" to embrace that proposition. If you act upon
" it, you will not put it in the power of the ene-
" my to sell you in droves, like cattle; nor to
" make your houses your prisons; nor shall you,
" at home, and on your own estates, be reduced
" to a state of thraldom below the condition of
" the Pæonians and Triballi. For should the
" despotism of the Macedonians embrace you
" in the mildest manner, they would require
" you to confine yourselves to the management
" of flocks and slaves, as the highest employ-
" ment to which you ought to aspire; and they
" would force you, not as extorting a sacrifice,
" but as conferring a reward which might sa-
" tisfy captives, to abjure and abandon your
" wives, your children, your parents, your li-
" berty, your reputation, your faith, and, in

" fine, every thing that is sacred and venerable " among the Greeks. Incontestably, Thebans! " you lose all these for ever, unless you unite " with the Athenians in resisting the fraud and " violence of Philip.

" If you should imagine that you will be pro- " tected by the endeavours of others, without any " effort of your own, I fear that you will find your- " selves egregiously mistaken. If Philip should " accomplish the ruin of Attica, (an event " which I contemplate with horror, as a Greek,) " can you doubt that all Greece, and neces- " sarily your city, would be deprived of liber- " ty? Who, but men who had an inclination " to perish, would entrust their existence " to a prince destitute of faith? But if vic- " tory should declare for us, reflect on what " you ought to expect from a people, whom " you had deserted and abandoned, when both " their safety and their glory were at stake— " were that people any other than the generous " Athenians. Whatever course the Theban " state may decide on pursuing, we are deter- " mined to venture all in the great cause; for " the Athenians will never lose their liberty " but with their lives. Nor do we distrust our " strength, to which if you will join yours, we " shall, united, be superior to the enemy; at " the same time, opposition to him by either of

" us singly, will be attended with hazard;
" should we let this opportunity pass, the com-
" munication between us will be cut off, and
" each of us must submit without an effort, or
" fight separately against him, when all his
" means of subduing the Theban and our state
" will have augmented.

" The Athenians are not ignorant of the ex-
" tent of his power, which they foresaw while
" it was rising and increasing: we took up the
" cause of Greece; and had all the Greek states
" been unanimous in supporting that cause,
" such a just and natural confederacy might
" easily have set limits to his dominions. We
" waged war with him, a long time, not for
" Amphipolis or Halonesus, as many asserted,
" but for the safety and liberty of Greece; till,
" abandoned by all, and attacked by some mem-
" bers of the body which we were benefiting,
" we were forced to make a necessary rather
" than an honourable peace. But, now, the
" goddess Minerva, the guardian of our city,
" and the Pythian Apollo, the native god of
" our country, with all the adored circle of our
" national deities, have, I trust, loosed the ban-
" dage from the eyes of the Greeks, and raised
" the courage of all their worshippers to join in
" defending the liberty and independence of the

" whole Hellenic body, and the ancient privi-
" leges transmitted by our forefathers.

" Surely, Hercules could not hear without
" indignation, the impiety of the ambassadors,
" when they derived Philip's pedigree from
" that god. Will that celestial own, by his
" auspices, the contemner of all religions? Can
" a Greek acknowledge for his descendant, a
" Macedonian? Can a power who abhorred ty-
" ranny, who punished and extirpated it, own
" a tyrant? This made the actions of Hercules
" illustrious and memorable. Philip, on the
" contrary, exercises an unjust dominion over
" Greece; and has appointed domestic tyrants
" over several of its cities; such as Philistides
" over Oreum, Hipparchus over Eretria, and
" Taurosthenes over Chalcis. For this reason,
" the Eubœans, Achæans, Corinthians, Mega-
" rensians, Leucadians, and Corcyræans, have
" declared for us. Others wait the event, an
" indecision which has hitherto supported the
" power of Macedonia, which will fall rapidly
" of itself, after union and firmness among the
" Grecians have made it begin to decline. The
" Thessalians, by whom Philip is now supplied
" with cavalry, have frequently changed sides;
" and their present connection is forced. The
" Illyrians and other Barbarians on the distant

" frontiers of Macedonia, naturally fierce and
" savage, and enraged at their new servitude,
" will, on any disaster happening to Philip, by
" declaring for us, relieve us considerably from
" the pressure of the war.

" We entreat you and the other states to co-
" öperate heartily with us in a glorious effort
" to preserve the freedom of Greece; in the
" meantime, cease to agitate, or even to recol-
" lect, the dissentions which, from slight causes,
" frequently arise between neighbouring states.
" Let us hope that expiring enmities from old
" quarrels, will be lost in mutual benevolence
" and general joy, when success crowns our en-
" deavours; or if we must give vent to unrea-
" sonable passions, let it be at a time less dan-
" gerous than the present, when it may operate
" to the prejudice and dishonour of us both,
" without destroying us entirely. Nay, if we
" have ever contended as noble rivals, let us
" now unite against a subtle and inveterate
" enemy, who proposes to extinguish all emu-
" lation between us, who shall be the freest or
" the greatest, by reducing both of us to sla-
" very.

" Let us not be confined to inaction by too
" great an apprehension of the artifices of Phi-
" lip: if we pay no credit to his promises, and
" keep our hands undishonoured by his bribes,

" we cut the very sinews of his policy. Plain " sense will preserve us against a cunning " which has made its tricks gross by repeti- " tion; and if we have in our hearts the love " of liberty and of Greece, he will in vain as- " sail us with his pernicious gifts.

" As the discords of the Greeks have raised, " so their union will overthrow him. Besides, " as his temerity is excessive, which frequently " exposes him to complicated danger, the " chances of war may take him off. In this " event, the aggression and encroachment which " has convulsed and despoiled Greece, will ex- " pire with him; for the false estimate of glory " which has made him a general disturber, has " been attended with evils, which must make " his subjects pant for tranquillity. Perhaps, " however, you feel distraction and terror on " account of Alexander, because the partizans " of Macedonia, through a contempt which " arises from an ignorance of your discernment, " have attempted to frighten you with the " name of a boy.

" On you, O Thebans! the eyes of Greece " are fixed. The inhabitants of this renowned " nation, at present free, at the same moment " equip armies for the field; send out, in the " great cause, fleets to sea; and implore, by " their representatives, the assistance of your

" gallant sons and experienced warriors against
" the violence and ambition of the Macedonian
" oppressor. They would have you see your
" danger and your interest; they exhort you
" to remember your duty; and, by me, they
" anxiously inquire, whether you will embrace
" the last occasion that may be presented,
" of acting consistently with your ancient
" glory*?"

CHAP. VIII.

The Thebans accept the alliance of the Athenians. The battle of Chæronea. Philip is elected general of the Greeks.

THE Macedonian partizans, confounded by Demosthenes, were unable to concert a reply; the power of his address was as visible in the sudden change which it effected in the Thebans. They who, a little before, had heard Philip's ambassadors with attention, and with applauding expressions of assent; now resolved to unite with Athens,—and they declared, that they should regard Philip as an enemy, unless he immediately withdrew from their frontiers and from those of their allies. A decree to this

* Dem. de Corona. Dem. pro. Ctes. sect. 43.

effect was executed in form. "Arms and honour"—"Thebes and Athens"—"Greece and "liberty!"—echoed through the assembly*.

Afterwards, however, the fluctuating temper of a popular government occasioned an embarrassing proposition by the magistrates of Thebes in favour of pacific measures; while strongly recommending these to the Athenians, they countermanded the march of their own forces: this obliged Demosthenes to appear once more in their assembly. He enforced his former arguments, and by additional motives, animated the leaders and the people. "If," said he, "the Thebans are still undetermined, insensi- "ble of the common danger, and uninfluenced "by patriotic affection to Greece,—there is at "least one people that remember the principles "and actions of their ancestors. The unas- "sisted Athenians, though deserted by their "countrymen, cannot abandon the sacred cause "of liberty; if left to support the contest "by themselves, they must at least demand a "free passage through the Theban territory, "that by themselves they may march against "the enemy of Greece, and gloriously fall in "its defence†."

This appeal occasioned the deliberations of

* Theopomp. in Plut. vit. Dem. Dem. pro. Ctes. sect. 63.

† Æschin. in Ctes. sect. 47.

the Thebans to conclude in a resolution for war, which nothing could afterwards shake. They expelled from the city all that were known to be in the Macedonian interest; while their own forces were encamped without the walls, they received into their houses, and lodged with their families, the Athenian troops, who repaid, by regularity of conduct, this extraordinary confidence. Deserving of particular mention, is one trait, in the Athenian conduct, moulded by the counsels of Demosthenes, which seems equally to belong to greatness of mind and good policy. Though two-thirds of the expense of the united land-forces, and the whole charge of the maritime preparations, were borne by the Athenians, they freely permitted the Theban state to hold the first rank, and to be considered as the leading member of the confederacy *.

Philip was not so disconcerted by this cordial union between Thebes and Attica, as to abandon his enterprize, though the event were rendered precarious.

The allied Greeks now boldly moved to meet the enemy, and encamped within two days' march of the Macedonian army. The season was unfavourable for grand operations: in two

* Dem. pro Ctes. sect. 63.

detached actions, parties of the Macedonians were driven back to their camp. Philip, relying on his superior talents over those of the allied generals to conduct a general engagement, decamped and led his army to the plain of Chæronea. He took up a position, in view of a temple dedicated to Hercules, the author of his race, with the small river Thermodon, which fell into the Cephisus, in his front; a spot which some ancient oracles pointed out as the scene of some great calamity to Greece*. His army was now formed of thirty-two thousand men, well disciplined and long inured to the toils and dangers of war: but this army was composed of different nations and countries. The army of the confederates did not amount to thirty thousand complete; of which Athenians and Thebans constituted the greatest part; the rest were Corinthians and Peloponnesians; all animated by the same motives, and resolved to conquer or die in defence of liberty: unhappily the command of this illustrious body was entrusted to men unworthy of so important a charge; elevated to the station, not because they possessed experience and reputation, but because they could avail themselves of faction and secretly direct intrigue. The Thebans were

* Plut. in vit. Dem.

commanded by Theagines, a man of but moderate abilities in war, and suspected of corruption; the Athenians were led by their two generals Lysicles and Chares, according to the historians, or Stratocles according to the orators*.

In the morning of the day which was to decide for ever the liberty and empire of Greece; both armies, before the rising of the sun, were ranged in order of battle. In the army of the confederates, the Thebans had the post of honour on the right wing, with that famous body in front, called the SACRED BAND: the centre was formed of the Corinthians and Peloponnesians: the left wing was composed of the Athenians. The left of Philip's army consisted of a chosen body of noble Macedonians, supported by the famous cavalry of Thessaly; this wing was commanded by Alexander, then but nineteen years old; but his father, to curb his ardour and to direct his valour, surrounded him with experienced officers. In the centre were placed those Greeks whom coercion had united with Philip, on whose courage and attachment he had not complete dependence: the king himself commanded on the right wing, where his renowned phalanx stood to repel the

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. sect. 86. Dinarch. in Dem. Plut. in Pelop. Strabo, lib. ix. p. 414.

impetuosity with which the Athenians were known to assail*.

The charge began, on each side, with all the courage and violence which ambition, revenge, the pursuit of glory, and attachment to liberty, could excite. Alexander, at the head of the Macedonian nobles, with great ardour and decision fell on the sacred band of Thebes, who sustained the attack with a bravery and vigor worthy the fame of that institution†. The gallant Theban youths, too far behind whom their countrymen stood to give them close and immediate support, bore up, during an unparalleled interval, against the enemy, till, overpowered by superior numbers, they sunk down on that point of the field where they had been originally stationed, each by the side of his immediate friend, forming a bulwark of bodies, which for a moment checked a tide of assault flowing in impetuously. But the young prince and his forces, animated to enthusiastic courage by success, proceeded over the heaps of slain, and furiously attacked the main body of the Thebans, which resisted with determined valour: the contest was, for some time, supported with mutual tenacity‡.

* Oliv. lib. xv. p. 368. Diod. Sic. ut supra.

† Plut. in Alex. ‡ Plut. in Pelop.

The Athenians, posted on the right wing, fought during the same time with a spirit and intrepidity worthy of their character and cause. The bravery exerted on each side kept the result suspended—at length, the centre of Philip's army, and even the left wing, except the phalanx, yielded before the impetuous attack of the Athenians, and fled with some precipitation. It had been well for Greece, if the ability of the Athenian generals had equalled the spirit of their soldiers: but the champions of liberty were conducted by the creatures of intrigue and cabal. Elated by the present advantage, the presumptuous Lysicles exclaimed, "Come "on, my gallant countrymen! the victory is "ours; let us pursue these cowards, and drive "them to Macedon!" Thus, instead of seizing the opportunity of attacking the phalanx in flank, a manœuvre by which, as it remained unsupported, it must have been broken; the Athenians pursued the flying enemy with a precipitation which threw them into disorder. Philip perceived this fatal error with the promptness of an accomplished general; and coolly observed to the officers round him, that "the "Athenians knew not how to conquer." He directed his phalanx, by a sudden evolution, to gain an adjacent eminence. Marching down hence in a firm order, they fell collectedly on

the Athenians, now confident of success, and blind to their danger. The shock was irresistible: the Attic forces were at once overwhelmed: many were pierced by the active weapons of the enemy, many were trodden down: the rest escaped from wounds and slaughter by a flight urged with disgraceful impatience, bearing down, and hurrying away with them, those troops which had been stationed for their support*.

While Philip was recovering from a severe repulse and rising to victory, Alexander continued the conflict on the other wing, and at length broke the Thebans, in spite of all their acts of valour: these, now flying from the field, were pursued with carnage. The centre of the confederates, exposed by the defeat and dispersion of both flanks, was thus totally abandoned to the fury of a victorious enemy. But slaughter and rout had proceeded far enough to decide the battle: more than one thousand Athenians lay dead on the field, and two thousand had been made prisoners: the loss of the Thebans was not inferior. Philip therefore concluded his important victory by an act flowing apparently from clemency, but dictated by policy and subservient to ambition; he gave orders

* Polyæn. lib. iv. cap. 2.

that the Greeks should be spared, expecting soon to be the leader of that confederacy of states, which he had subdued*.

The time of the battle seems to have been an entire day. In the evening, Philip received the congratulations of his officers; to whom, with the ambassadors of his allies, he gave a magnificent entertainment. Some of the most eminent Athenian prisoners, and the individuals deputed to demand the slain, were politely invited to the feast, which was continued with decent and corrected joy till the Athenian deputies retired. Now Philip and his Macedonians gave a freer course to gaiety and festivity. They sat till the approach of day, when the king and his companions proceeded to the field of battle, crowned with garlands, and inflamed with wine. Coming first to the quarter where the Thebans had fought, they beheld the bodies of the three hundred who had been united in their lives by sacred friendship; united also in their deaths, they lay in ranks unbending and unbroken, corresponding to their original order in battle. The affecting sight subdued their conquerors; Philip hung over them with astonishment, veneration, and pity. Melted into tears, and raising his hands with passionate

* Leland's Philip, book v. 2. p. 415, edit. 1775.

energy, he pronounced a solemn curse on those who could be base enough to suspect their friendship of any thing unworthy *.

The scene where the Athenians had contended, struck the king with vivid impressions of his late danger, the happiness of his escape, the importance of his success. He forgot his dignity; bounded from the earth in ridiculous triumph; and began to chant the declaration of war which Demosthenes had drawn up. His courtiers not daring to recal him to himself, he was in danger of being permitted to forget the king, and to expose Philip, till the fit had subsided: but Demades, the Athenian orator, his prisoner and guest, who had not acquired the habits of slavery, could not restrain his indignation: "Sir," said he, "you are "acting the part of Thersites, when fortune "had enabled you to appear in that of Aga-"memnon." If there was courage in this pointed reproof, there was address in its flattering allusion to the practicability of Philip's appearing at the head of the Greeks, like that ancient king. Philip, awakened from his extravagance, blushing, tore the chaplet of flowers from his brows, and threw it on the ground: warmly professing friendship and esteem for

* Leland's Philip, book v. 2. p. 418, 419, edit. 1775.

Demades, he pronounced him free. After the king had returned to his tent, he was the first to reclaim the company to dignity, by serious and judicious reflections upon the late events. His flatterers represented to him, that Athens, which had accumulated enemies and dangers round him, was now in his power, and that his honour and security required him to crush that turbulent state, and raze its walls to their foundations. Philip's reply flowed from juster views: "Have I encountered all these toils and dangers for glory, and shall I destroy the theatre "of that glory? Ye gods, forbid it*!"

By moderation and condescension, he designed to gain the affections of the conquered Greeks. He gave the Athenians full permission to solemnize funeral rites in honour of their dead; and he dismissed the prisoners taken from them without ransom. The prisoners, thus released, boldly desired that he would be pleased to add the favour of restoring their baggage. "Indeed!" cried Philip, smiling, "these "men imagine that I have only conquered "them at some sport:" without further hesitation, he had the courtesy to comply with their request. The Thebans, indeed, were not treated

* Leland's Philip, book v. 2. p. 419—421, edit. 1775.

with the same lenity. With a general disposition to clemency, he imagined that his dignity required that he should show some sense of their ingratitude; for so their conduct was termed, and perhaps regarded, by Philip; and he considered, that an instance of severity would seasonably intimidate those of his confederates who might be tempted to revolt. The Thebans, therefore, he obliged to purchase both their dead and their prisoners: the principal leaders and partisans who had opposed his interest in Thebes, he punished with death, or banishment and confiscation; and three hundred exiles, who had suffered for adherence to his cause, were recalled and entrusted with public offices and the administration of government *.

The citizens of Athens, upon learning the event of the battle of Chæronea, in a paroxysm of disappointment and consternation, adopted a decree proposed by the orator Hyperides, by which they suspended or abrogated several of their institutions, in order to increase the number of their soldiers: they granted to strangers the rights of citizenship, restored infamous and degraded Athenians to rank and honour, and gave freedom to the slaves, on condition that the

* Leland's Philip, book v. 2. p. 421, 422, edit. 1775.

promiscuous crowd, thus adopted or reinstated, should take up arms *. The city was put into a state to sustain a siege; and the faithful and experienced Phocion was appointed commander of the forces, now the time for achievement was past †. Demosthenes, from whom the confidence of the Athenians was not withdrawn, expended, from his private fortune, a considerable sum on the fortifications, for which he was honoured with a crown of gold. Lysicles, to whose incapacity as a general the disastrous results of the war were attributed, was, at his return to the city, dragged before the public tribunal. Lycurgus, the orator, addressed the criminal in a strain of dignified accusation and overpowering reproach: "The enemy have "erected a trophy to the eternal dishonour of "Athens; and Greece, prostrate, expects the "abhorred yoke of slavery. You were the "commander on that fatal day: and you yet "live: you enjoy the sun's light: you appear "in our public places, the monument of the "disgrace and calamity of your country." If Lysicles had concerted any apology for his fatal error,—confounded, struck mute, by the penetrating justice of these severe words, he at-

* Dem. de Corona, sect. 57. Plut. in orat. x. vit. Hyper.

† Plut in Phocion.

tempted none: he was led away by the people to instant execution*.

Philip had shown so much respect to the Athenians, as to send home the bones of their soldiers who had fallen at Chæronea, in order that they might be honourably buried; and he had appointed his son and Antipater to attend as his deputies on the occasion†. These distinguished Macedonians, who still remained in the city, gave assurances of Philip's intentions to conclude a peace beneficial to the Athenians. As an earnest of his friendship, he confirmed them in possession of Oropus, which the Thebans had at length consented to resign. But it was not consistent with his plans to leave them in possession of the empire of the sea, with which they might make new efforts at ascendancy: he therefore seized the island of Samos by a stratagem. This mortifying stroke first made the Athenians sensible of their fall: yet peace was still offered to them on terms which could not but be regarded as favourable and advantageous. Their laws and constitution were preserved to them; and they were to retain their territories and dependencies as far as to the isle of Samos: and the only condition re-

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 88.

† Leland's Philip, chap. v. 2. p. 428, edit. 1775.

quired by the conqueror, was, that they should send deputies to a general council which Philip had convened at Corinth, on an affair interesting to every state of Greece. Phocion, though not averse to peace, yet recommended that the people should not explain themselves, on this last article, until the particulars of Philip's scheme, and his intention in calling the assembly, were communicated. But Demades, now returned at the head of the prisoners who had been treated so generously, urged the people to comply with the terms proposed by Philip, whose kindness and moderation he extolled. His opinion, seconded by the necessity of their affairs, prevailed *.

As soon as the peace with Athens was ratified, Philip went to Corinth, where Grecian deputies from every state except Sparta, waited to receive his overtures. In the Amphictyonic council Philip declared his design of marching into Asia, to destroy the Persian monarchy, which had ever been formidable to Greece. "It is become necessary," he observed in an address which his eloquence qualified him in person to deliver, "to go and meet the Barbarians, whose ungovernable pride already affects universal empire; therefore we must

* Leland's Philip, book v. 2. p. 432, 433, edit. 1775.

" submit to be slaves for ever, or resolve on a " timely opposition. The question is not, whe- " ther the Greeks are to have war or peace? " but, whether they shall carry the war into " the enemy's country, or receive it in their " own? Nor does it behove us merely to re- " venge former injuries, nor to be satisfied with " preventing newly meditated insults and at- " tacks: it is our duty immediately to liberate " the Grecian colonies in Asia from Persian " tyranny and rapacity. This desirable object " might easily be gained, were the affairs of " Greece adjusted, and an understanding esta- " blished amongst all the states, so as to enable " us to employ our confederate strength wholly " in the transmarine war. The employment in " a remote expedition, of those restless and " audacious spirits, who, as a relief from inac- " tivity, plunge into sedition and commotion, " would introduce into Greece the advantage " of complete domestic concord. Do we for- " get, that when Greece was even in a divided " state, Agesilaus, with an inconsiderable army, " gave law to the satraps of the Persian king? " Do we forget the triumphant actions, and " the glorious retreat, of the ten thousand? Is " it needful to recur to the jealousies which " Persia has constantly fomented in our coun- " try, to the animosities which her intrigues

" have bred and nourished, in order to arm " Greek against Greek? Let us turn to the " plains of Marathon! Is there any thing " wanting to inspire us with the highest ex- " pectations of success, now that the whole " force of this brave nation can be exerted " against a people enervated by luxury, and " depressed by slavery*?" He concluded by declaring himself a candidate for the high post of their general-in-chief in the expedition; and desired that the assembly should regulate the contingent which each state was to furnish; he, on his part, engaging to employ all the forces of his kingdom in the glorious cause†.

The Amphictyonic deputies, gained over by the arts of Philip, or influenced by their feelings as Greeks, received these propositions with plaudits. The representatives of the Grecian colonies pathetically and vehemently seconded Philip. A war against the Persians, if once resolved on, seemed naturally to devolve to the management of a prince who, in two religious wars, had already vindicated the honour of the gods; and none appeared so competent to conduct the enterprize as the king. The assembly in general were too sensible, that Philip possessed pe-

* Justin. lib. ix. 5. Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 89.

† Leland's Philip, book v. 3. vol. ii. p. 443, edit. 1775.

netration, decision, valour, and military talents, to hesitate in the choice of a commander. The *expedition itself* wanted no recommendation to those Greeks who exultingly turned the brightest pages of their country's history, and aspired to emulate their ancestors. In the absence of representatives from Sparta, who, sullen or magnanimous, refused to let her voice be heard among the fallen Greeks,—the Arcadian deputies alone had the boldness to vote against conferring the command on the king: but they were soon silenced and discouraged by loud acclamations expressive of a general consent, both to engage in the expedition, and to constitute Philip the leader*.

When the number of forces to be furnished by each state was ascertained, it appeared that the whole army, thus contributed, would amount to two hundred and twenty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, exclusive of the Macedonians †; a prodigious force, and one which the Greeks had not, previously, a conception that their united efforts could raise ‡.

During these proceedings, Philip had sent

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. vol. ii. p. 444, 445, edit. 1775.

† Compare this gigantic estimate with the force which Alexander led into Asia, [*infra*, book ii. chap. 3.] Modern calculations of armies assembled on paper are not more delusive.

‡ Leland's Philip, book v. 3. vol. ii. p. 446, edit. 1775.

a letter to the Lacedæmonians,—in which he reproached them for detaching themselves from the affairs of Greece, and deserting the common cause; he demanded their concurrence, and intermixed some menaces to intimidate them. Their answer to him, was simply:

"If you imagine that your victory hath "made you greater, measure your shadow."

Philip made no reply to this surly morsel of sophistry: but pursued those negociations with the other states, which we have traced to a close. Gratified by the attainment of an object to which his ambition had long been directed, he lavished on the Grecian deputies munificent presents, and other expressions of friendly and liberal intentions towards them; and having employed his utmost address to induce them to spread among their countrymen sentiments favourable to his character, he dismissed them and returned to Pella*.

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. vol. ii. p. 448, 449, edit. 1773.

CHAP. IX.

Dissentions in the family of Philip, who repudiates Olympias and marries Cleopatra. Pausanias assassinates Philip.

THIS prince, adored by his subjects and his army; revered or dreaded, and admired, in Greece and the surrounding countries, was not exempted from domestic misfortunes. His repeated violations of the marriage-bed, his open and abandoned licentiousness, inflamed the temper of his queen Olympias, naturally severe and haughty: at length, according to some representations, she revenged his infidelities, while, at the same time, she continued her reproaches and complaints. This conduct, calculated to extinguish all remains of affection in her husband, estranged him totally. He had had a succession of favourites *: he now resolved to marry Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, his kinsman and one of his generals. Alexander, when apprised of this intention, remonstrated against it; representing that his father, by divorcing Olympias in order to contract a second mar-

* Athenæi, lib. xiii. p. 557.

riage, exposed him to the danger of having competitors for the crown, and rendered his succession precarious. Alexander might intend an indirect allusion to the number of Philip's children by his concubines, who were now growing up. "My son!" said the king, "if I "surround you with competitors, you have left "open to you a glorious opportunity to surpass "them in merit: thus shall their rivalship by "no means affect your title*."

The king's marriage with Cleopatra was now declared in form, and celebrated with magnificence. The young prince, required to attend a round of solemnities and rejoicings, with the occasion of which he was dissatisfied, sat in silent indignation at that feast which proclaimed that his mother was degraded, and implied that she had been criminal; circumstances which must have made his youthful and impetuous mind exquisitely alive to the slightest irritation. Attalus, the uncle of the new queen, forgetting the politeness or the prudence which should have carefully abstained from any affront to the prince, and intoxicated by the elevation of his kinswoman, and perhaps literally intoxicated by bacchanal excess, was rash enough to call loudly on the Macedonian nobles, 'To of-

* Plut. in Alex. Plut. in Apophth.

'fer libations to the gods, and implore, that the 'happy fruits to the king of the present nup-'tials might be legitimate heirs to his throne.' "Wretch!" cried Alexander, his eyes sparkling with fury and vexation, which he had till now restrained, "dost thou call me bastard?" and instantly darted his goblet at Attalus, who returned the outrage with double violence. Clamour and confusion spread through the company; and the king, who sat at another table, unsheathed his sword, in a sudden tempest of rage, and flew towards his son. His impatient haste, his lameness, and the effects of freedoms taken with the wine, occasioned him to stumble, and happily disappointed his unpaternal purpose. While he lay extended on the floor,—Alexander, with insolence not to be palliated, cried out: "Macedonians! behold the king "who is preparing to lead you into Asia.—See, "in an expedition from that couch to this, he "is fallen to the ground*."

The serious complexion of the accident contributed to recover the party from disorder; Alexander retired. Quitting, soon after, his father's court, he conducted his mother Olympias into Epirus, whence he himself passed into Illyria. The preceding mark of disrespect to

* Plut. in Alex.

his father and his king merits censure emphatic and severe: and his retiring into a country where Philip was regarded as an enemy, wants the pretext of sudden irritation to excuse it, and can escape the charge of deep in-grained guilt only by supposing that Alexander considered, that in the territory of an ally of Macedonia, if his father, instigated by Attalus, were to prove unappeasable, he might be delivered up a helpless victim. It is not ascertained, it seems ridiculous to suspect, that Alexander fought in the army of the Illyrians, now actually engaged in hostilities against Philip: but he resided at the court of Pleurias, the Illyrian king, when the latter, undazzled by Philip's power and reputation, now at the highest, made a last effort for the independence of his country. Philip marched into Illyria at the head of all his forces, and gained a complete victory, after an obstinate conflict, in which he was personally exposed to imminent danger. The enemy's forces had poured collectively against him; and at a moment when he appeared on the point of sinking under their resolute attack,—Pausanias, a young Macedonian of illustrious birth, remarked in the court for the gracefulness of his person, interposed himself before the king, and without holding the shield before his own front, suffered the furious assailants to bury those wea-

pons in his body, which were directed against his royal master. Dying in the field, he disclosed the secret of this desperate generosity to Attalus, his friend. He told him, that a young Macedonian, also called Pausanias, his companion and fellow-soldier, had stigmatized the affection which the king entertained for him, as springing from a shocking passion, which degraded its object below the rank of humanity; that, impatient of the unjust reproach, he had formed the resolution of proving, by his death, that his attachment to his prince was of the most virtuous kind, honourable to him as a man and a soldier. Attalus, deeply grieved at the cause of this desperate sacrifice, determined to revenge it on the surviving Pausanias *.

Philip, on his return to Pella, found there Demaratus the Corinthian, whom he received with the respect which he habitually paid to individuals of consideration and influence in the Hellenic states. In a serious conversation on the affairs of Greece, the king asked him, whether that people had forgot their animosities, and lived in harmony and amicable intercourse? Demaratus answered with a freedom which proved his regard to Philip: "How can you, Sir! "affect an attention to the tranquillity of

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 453, 454, edit. 1775.

" Greece, when your own family is distracted " by jars and dissentions?" The king, roused to reflection by this ingenuous reply, confessed his error, and declared an earnest resolution to extinguish his domestic quarrels. He immediately sent Demaratus into Illyria, to endeavour to recal Alexander to his duty: this amiable peace-maker brought Alexander to Pella. Olympias also appeared once more in the court of Philip; where, while she seemed to be satisfied with the titles of " queen," and " mother of the heir " presumptive to the throne," she secretly cherished an inveterate resentment against her husband and her rival, and laboured to inspire her son with corresponding sentiments *. She pressed on Alexander, how politic it would be, " To " increase the number of his friends by a win- " ning carriage, and by presents; and to fortify " himself against his father's anger, by alliances " with men who had command and authority." The king either penetrated these counsels, or observed their effects, as he admonished his son, ' That faithful servants were not to be gained by ' corrupt arts †.'

Some time afterwards, Pexodorus, king of Caria, made an offer of his daughter in marriage

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 454, 455, edit. 1775.

† Plut. cap. 15; et Apophth. cap. 33. Plut. Apophth. cap. 31.

to Aridæus, one of Philip's natural sons, whose understanding had been impaired, in his childhood, by a poison given to him by Olympias, jealous of the affection which his father expressed for him. It was represented to Alexander by Olympias, seconded by her adherents, that this overture was perfectly agreeable to Philip, who intended to transfer Alexander's right of succession to Aridæus; they persuaded the prince to apply, therefore, privately to Pexodorus, and to offer to espouse his daughter himself, as the king of Caria could not hesitate in preferring his alliance to that of the ideot Aridæus. Of the private treaty which followed these suggestions, Philip was soon informed; he went to the apartment of his son with Philotas, one of Alexander's principal favourites, in whose presence he reproached him with his abject degeneracy, in courting the alliance of a native of Caria, a country held in such contempt as to be derided in a proverb; a conduct unworthy of his birth, and of the throne which his father reserved for him as his undoubted right. Alexander was unable to answer this charge: but Philip, in order to effect a complete reconciliation with his son, appeared to forget all animosities, and suffered the blame of this affair to fall entirely on the agents and assistants.—Harpalus, Nearchus, Phrygius, and Ptolemy, Macedonian no-

bles, who had assisted the young prince by their counsels, were banished; and Thessalus, the principal agent, was, under the king's order, seized at Corinth and sent in chains to Macedon*.

While Philip indulged his ambition with schemes of greatness and renown, insensible of the dangers impending over him from the unrelenting hatred and revenge of Olympias; an occurrence, which raised considerable commotion in the court, furnished his repudiated queen and incensed son with a powerful assistant to their designs. Attalus had concealed, till now, his purpose—of revenging the death of the self-devoted Pausanias in Illyria, by an infernal retaliation on the surviving Pausanias. With an appearance of friendship for the latter, he invited him to a feast: here, when he had, by wine and revelling, rendered him insensible and incapable of resistance,—with a horrid exultation, he called in his menial servants, and exposed the unhappy young nobleman to their detestable insults. Pausanias, when sensible of this brutal outrage, with the fury and indignation of a generous mind, hastened to the king, urged his wrongs, and loudly called for justice and vengeance on Attalus. The cause of this

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 455, 456, edit. 1775.

vile transaction had, probably, been disclosed to Philip; which, operating with his regard for the uncle of his new queen, unfortunately influenced him more than the just complaints of an injured subject. Eluding the demand of Pausanias for redress, he endeavoured to dissipate his vexation, and vainly imagined, that the conferring on him a higher command in the army would allay the irritating recollection of his wrongs. But the wounds inflicted on the honour of Pausanias were not thus healed; and the disappointment of revenge added Philip to the objects of his resentment*.

The partisans of Olympias and Alexander, in officious interviews with Pausanias, who was alternately subject to rage and dejection, expressed the deepest sense of his injuries; representing that the king, by denying justice, made himself an accomplice in the guilt of Attalus; and that the abhorred outrage could not be atoned without signal and illustrious vengeance†.

The secret emissaries of Persia appear to have availed themselves of this chain of odious circumstances, as an opportunity to free their country from a formidable enemy; making Pausanias the principal instrument of a conspiracy against the life of Philip‡.

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 458, 459, edit. 1775.

† Ibid. p. 459. ‡ Arrian. lib. ii. cap. 14.

This unhappy youth, brooding over the degradation of his character with a distracted and corroded mind, went accidentally into the school of Hermocrates, a professed teacher of philosophy; to whom he proposed the following question: "What shall that man do, who proposes "to transmit his name with lustre to poste-"rity?" Hermocrates, either because he had been drawn into the vortex of the conspiracy, or from the natural malignity of his temper, replied: "He must kill him who hath achieved "the greatest actions: thus shall the memory "of him who slays, be joined with that of the "hero, and both descend together to posterity." The mind of Pausanias, so far from being in a disposition to revolt at this proposition, greedily received it. Thus various accidents and circumstances concurred to prompt him to the dreadful purpose of satiating his revenge with the blood of Philip*.

In the meantime, the king, confiding that he had restored the tranquillity of his family, turned his whole attention to his schemes of greatness, and the expedition against Persia. He already began the war, by detaching Attalus and Parmenio to the Grecian colonies in Asia, where expelling some of the Persian garrisons,

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 94.

they restored the inhabitants to freedom and independence *,

Previously to embarking in the enterprize with the entire strength of his kingdom and allies,—Philip consulted the Delphic oracle, confiding that the prediction respecting the event of the undertaking would be such as to animate his soldiers to a sanguine height. The inquiry drew this answer from the Pythian priestess:

> " In fatal pomp, now stands the victim crown'd!
> " The arm already rais'd, that deals the wound †."

It did not require much overstraining accommodation to interpret the victim to be the Persians, as marked out a sacrifice to the gods, to atone for the profanations which those Barbarians had formerly committed on the temples in Greece.

Just as the king was on the point of departing on the expedition, his queen Cleopatra was delivered of a son. Nearly at the same time, another gratifying domestic occurrence completed his satisfaction: he concluded a marriage between one of his daughters, named, like his new queen, Cleopatra, and Alexander, king of Epirus, the brother of Olympias: by this new tie, he conceived that he had secured himself

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. sect. 91. † Ibid.

against any attempts of his first queen, to disturb the tranquillity of his kingdom through the assistance of her brother. Philip, in his exultation at these joyful events, ordered solemn games and festivals to be celebrated; and selected Ægæ as the scene of magnificence. Thither, on his invitation, deputies from every Grecian state, and all the individuals honoured with marks of his particular consideration and friendship, repaired. The concourse was great and splendid: the Grecian cities vied with each other in expressing respect and affection for the leader of their armies. Many of them presented him with crowns of gold: Athens, in presenting her crown, took so conspicuous a part as to proclaim, by a herald, her interest in the preservation of Philip's life, and a determination to exclude the man who should make an attempt against it an asylum in her territory *.

To the games succeeded a magnificent banquet. His great designs so filled the mind of Philip, that, surrounded by gaiety, he asked Neoptolemus if he could repeat any verses applicable to the affairs of Persia: The player, to flatter his master, recited a passage from a tragedy called *Cinyras*, which, he conceived, could apply only to Persian pride and ambition:

* Justin. lib. ix. 7. Pausan. in Arcad. Diod. lib. xvi. 91, 92.

In dazzling pomp, O fatally elate!
Whose tow'ring hopes, whose thoughts, (how great!)
Excursive, grasp imaginary sway
O'er realms and nations vast and wide,
With vain, delusive pride:
Yea, seize heav'n's concave in their airy way:—

Lo! where, in unexpected direful hour,
Death comes, inexorable pow'r!
To blast these hopes, amidst their fairest bloom;
Led by pale horror and despair,
He stops this mad career,
And buries all in night's eternal gloom*.

The day succeeding the feast was assigned to entertainments of the theatre, to which the guests and attendants of Philip began to move by dawn, marshalled in stately order. Twelve statues of the gods were borne in procession; a thirteenth statue followed, of more exquisite materials and workmanship, representing the king of Macedon, by which it was presumptuously indicated that he was not unworthy to rank among the divinities. When the Greeks and Macedonians were seated in the theatre, Philip came out of his palace, attended by the two Alexanders, his son and son-in-law. Clothed in a white, flowing robe, the kind of habiliment in which the Grecian deities were usu-

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 463, 464, edit. 1775.

ally represented,—he moved exultingly forward, evidently gratified by the applauses of admiring crowds. His guards had been ordered to keep at a distance, in order to show the confidence of the king in the affections of his people, and in the loyalty of the states and nations his allies. Philip had now arrived at the entrance of the theatre, where in a narrow passage he found a young Macedonian nobleman waiting his approach; it was Pausanias; the king reached the spot; Pausanias drew his poniard, and plunged it into his heart; and the conqueror of Greece, and terror of Asia, fell prostrate, and instantly expired *. *Olymp.* cxi. 1. *A. C.* 336. *Ætat. Alex.* 21.

The murderer flew towards a gate of the city, where were stationed horses prepared for his escape. In the tumult and confusion of the scene, some of the Macedonians crowded round the fallen king with ineffectual attention, while others pursued Pausanias. Among these, were Perdiccas, Attalus, and Leonatus; the first, who excelled in swiftness, came up to the assassin, as he was just ready to mount his horse: but one of the feet of Pausanias entangling in some vines, a violent effort to break away, brought him to the ground. As he prepared to rise, Perdiccas confined him, and, with his companions,

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 465—467, edit. 1775.

soon dispatched him by repeated wounds. His body was immediately hung on a gibbet: but, in the morning, it appeared crowned with a golden diadem; an appendage, by which Olympias betrayed her implacable resentment to Philip. In a few days, she more explicitly published her exultation in her husband's fall, by dividing, in an equal degree, to the corpse of Pausanias, the funereal honours prepared for Philip: both bodies were burned on the same pile, and the ashes of both deposited in the same tomb. She is said to have prevailed on the Macedonians to solemnize annual obsequies to Pausanias. She consecrated to Apollo the dagger which had been the instrument of the fatal deed, having inscribed it with the word "Myrtalis," her name before the loves between her and the king began*. Thus died Philip, king of Macedon, at the age of forty-seven years: after a reign of twenty-four, spent in sudden strokes of policy; deliberate schemes of prospective greatness, many of which he saw matured; enterprizes of difficulty and danger, seldom abortive, never calamitous to his arms, and mostly fortunate; in insinuating encroachments; bold aggressions; wars, chiefly offensive, and for the sake of conquest; intervals of

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 467, 468, edit. 1775.

peace, in which the lap of peace was used as a couch for hostility to refresh and recover strength; remote expeditions, which made the chastised Barbarians, on every frontier, shrink from renewing their invasions, converted from marauders to patient tributaries; well concerted campaigns against the Greeks, and decisive victories over their disciplined armies. He enlarged Macedon as a territory, and exalted it as a state. He excelled his courtiers in accomplishments; and was superior to his ministers and generals in polity and tactics. He shone as a master of address and eloquence, on no occasions more than when replying to the speeches of a legation of Attic orators. With talents that might have made him truly great, he often sacrificed humanity and justice to false glory. The historian who should descend to all the particulars of his private life, would have sometimes to dip his reluctant pen in infamy.

Olympias, taking a cruel advantage of the king's death, forced Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, to hang herself; and the child, which that queen had had by Philip, born a few days before his death, she murdered with circumstances of atrocious barbarity, and unwomanly revenge, roasting it in a brazen vessel. Not satisfied with this, she extended to the relations and dependants of the queen, whose death made

further rivalry impossible, the excesses of her raging implacability; and she took, in their fall, a gratification proportioned to the degradation and misery which she could inflict.

CHAP. X.

Difficulties under which Alexander commenced his reign. He punishes the conspirators against Philip.

AT this crisis, Alexander appeared, as a star of benevolent influence, to allay a tempest, which, extending its concussions beyond the agitated court, shook the kingdom. The Greeks whom Philip had subjugated, already conceived hopes of liberty: the neighbouring Barbarians had recommenced their troublesome inroads: and those affairs which depend on a steady and vigorous government, were sinking into confusion. Attalus, who was at the head of no contemptible army, had insinuated himself into the affections of the soldiers; and his consanguinity with some of the principal families in Macedon, gave him great influence over them; and this connection he had extended, by contracting to marry the sister of Philotas: it was impossible for Alexander

to rely on this commander, after the indelible and injurious acts of insult and hatred which had mutually passed between Attalus on the one part, and Alexander and his mother. The stability of the untried sovereign's power, was more strongly menaced by Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, Philip's elder brother: this prince, who had been made one of Philip's sons-in-law, by receiving Cyna in marriage, aspired to the succession, to which he intended to step by the murder of Alexander. A great part of the people, from aversion to the tyranny of Olympias, or from propensity to novelty, while they participated in disaffection to Alexander, were divided by attachment to the clashing factions of Attalus and Amyntas. There were others, whose opposition to Alexander rested on foundations still more remote; not scrupling to assert, that, in the preceding age, Amyntas II. had unjustly seized the throne, an usurpation which Philip had continued; and that the crown, now, ought to revert to Alexander the descendant* of Æropus. No faction ever had

* He is usually called the "son" of Æropus, which it is possible he was: however, as the reigns of PAUSANIAS, AMYNTAS II. ALEXANDER II. PERDICCAS III. AND PHILIP, intervened between the reign of Æropus and that of our Alexander, after whose name the ordinal distinction "the Third" is lost in that of "the Great;" it is probable that he was at least as distant, in the descending line, as the degree of grandson. And it is equally probable, that the

recourse to a weaker pretext: as Æropus appears, from history *, to have been an usurper of no ordinary presumption and infamy; atrociously supplanting Orestes, (the son of Archelaus,) about whose person he had been employed as a tutor.

The individuals forming the army, the jealous natives of various nations, disagreed in their counsels and diverged in their courses, as they felt a disposition to support the pretensions of this or that party. Alexander was new in his government, and Philip's sudden death had denied time to provide against the impending commotions; and though the abilities of the prince might have justified the highest expectations, many regarded only his youth, in their undervaluing and invidious estimate. 'They 'could not imagine, that a person barely twenty 'years of age, could support such a weight as 'the Macedonian government.' To increase the difficulties of Alexander,—money, one of the principal nerves of war and political influence, was wanting: while the Persians were enabled,

word "Æropus" was the material part of his patronymic to many historians, who seem to have introduced it merely to distinguish him from the son of Philip, indifferent about his exact relation to Æropus, as they mention, without canvassing, his claim. Suspecting "son" to be inaccurate, the Translator has substituted a word of comprehensive latitude.

* Diod. Sic. lib. xiv. 37.

by their great riches, to maintain in activity, throughout Greece, emissaries corrupting the people. To close this catalogue of embarrassing evils, the Tuscan pirates infested and plundered the maritime parts of Macedonia.

Alexander summoned his confidential adherents, to deliberate with him on the state of public affairs. Some of these advised, 'That 'suspending attention to Greece, he should endeavour, by mildness and insinuation, to recover to their duty, both the disaffected Macedonians and revolted Barbarians; that, the intestine murmurs and commotions being allayed, 'he might with the more ease repress any disorders in the dependent and tributary states.'

But the young prince, with magnanimity and decision, rejected these timid counsels. He told the proposers of them, 'That he 'should be *for ever* exposed to the contempt 'of all the world, if, *in the beginning of his* 'reign, he suffered himself to be despised; that 'that impression of his character, which he 'should stamp upon general opinion, at his 'entering upon the government, would influence the tenor of his whole life. That the 'death of Philip was no less unexpected to the 'rebels than to himself; that, therefore, while 'they were yet in the disorder of hurry, and irresolute as to their measures, the insurrection

'might be easily suppressed: whereas, delay 'would encourage the authors of the sedition, 'and give time to the wavering to join with the 'openly disaffected; and that it would be doubly 'difficult to reduce an enemy thus prepared 'and confirmed. At present, the event of the 'affair depended less upon strength than upon 'anticipation and expedition. That if he show-'ed any fear of the tributary states, while they 'were single and disunited, what would protect 'him when a timid, impolitic forbearance should 'have invited them to attack him with confe-'derated forces?'

To the people he, afterwards, made a speech to the same effect; adding, 'That he had pro-'ceedings in contemplation, which should 'make both his subjects and his enemies ac-'knowledge, that, by his father's death, the 'name and person only of the king was 'changed; that, with regard to conduct and 'courage, they should not find him a different 'commander. That notwithstanding some ma-'lignant spirits had taken that opportunity to 'excite disturbances, they should, shortly, be 'punished suitably to their demerits, if the Ma-'cedonians would lend him the same courage 'and nerves with which they had, for so many 'years, assisted his father, and by which they 'had reaped glory and victory, followed by

'permanent benefits. That to encourage them 'to take the field with cheerfulness and ala-'crity, he discharged them of all duties, except 'that of military service.'

Fortune seconded the king's designs, which he executed, in every particular, with as much energy as he had imparted them. He took at once measures for his personal safety; and vindicated his loyalty to his father. He defeated the treasonable practices of Amyntas; and he took off Attalus, by the agency of Hecatæus and Parmenio. Of the conspirators against Philip, he pardoned only Lyncestes; who was distinguished by this lenity, and permitted to attend Alexander when he entered upon the sovereignty, because he had been the first that saluted him "king." He ordered the execution of all the rest; conceiving that, by thus severely avenging Philip, he should promote his own safety, and effectually silence the report that he had been privy to his father's death.

The frequent dissentions between Philip and Alexander, had obtained partial reception for a rumour, that Pausanias had disclosed to the prince his wrongs and his discontent, and that Alexander had wickedly spurred him on to execute his half-avowed desperate design, by quoting a line of Euripides, in which Medea threatens

to involve in one great sacrifice to her resentment,

THE FATHER, BRIDE, AND HUSBAND.

At a subsequent era of his life, Alexander, in a letter to Darius, throws the odium of Philip's assassination upon the Persians, asserting that Persian gold had corrupted the murderers. And just previous to his death, in order to leave a solemn and permanent testimony against the suspicion, that he could have connived at so foul a transaction, he had it in contemplation to build a magnificent temple in honour of his father. This, like many of his meditated works, though he left an explicit memorial of his intention, was neglected by his successors.

CHAP. XI.

Alexander prevents the revolt of the Thessalians. At Thermopylæ; at Corinth; is elected to succeed his father, as general of the Greeks. His interview with Diogenes. Accepts an incidental expression of the Pythian priestess, as an oracle. Reduces Thrace. Omens of his good fortune. In an expedition against the Triballi his success is incomplete.

ALEXANDER, perceiving that to retain the sovereignty of Greece, which Philip had so re-

cently acquired, was essential to the prosecution and completion of greater projects, marched an army, with unhalting celerity, to the frontiers of Thessaly, before the people of that country had time to concert any formidable opposition. Some of the Thessalians had begun to lift their views up to independence; and having possessed themselves of the streits at Tempe, obstructed the march of Alexander through that important pass. Between the mountains, Olympus and Ossa, which constitute a barrier between Macedon and Thessaly, a small opening left by nature forms this valley, not more celebrated by the historians than by the poets. The river Peneus enriches it with permanent verdure; on each side of the current, which falls with a melodious cadence,—inviting green alleys, arbours of laurel, grottoes excavated in the hill-sides *, are heightened in their romantic effect by the warbling of birds; to breathe the salubrious air, is to respire refreshment and happiness; the picturesque scenery is a "festival for the "eyes;" the ancients honoured the place with sacrifices, as the most delightful on earth. The military track through an asylum of sequestered amenity, which should not have been disturbed by the clashing of arms, extended in length

* Translation of Anacharsis' Travels, vol. ii.

forty stadia*; in the narrowest parts it will hardly admit a loaded horse, so that ten men are a garrison for the pass. But Alexander made his way over rocks, which had been deemed impervious, cutting steps up the side of mount Ossa, resembling a winding staircase, and so terrified the people by decision and celerity, that, without farther opposition, they decreed him the tributes and revenues, together with the sovereignty, on the same conditions on which Philip had enjoyed them. The king, on his part, granted an immunity from all duties to Phthia, because it had been the birthplace of Achilles, the founder of his family; declaring that that hero should be his model, as though he were his companion and fellow-soldier, in the war he was about to undertake against the Persians.

From Phthiotis, Alexander marched to Thermopylæ, where was sitting the grand council of Greece; termed, whenever this *gate* of Greece was the place of convention, the *Pylaic* council. At this public assembly of the states, he was solemnly created captain-general of the Greeks, in the room of his father. He had the policy to confirm to the Ambraciotæ their liberty, which, a few days previously,

* About a league and a half.

they had recovered by driving out the Macedonian garrison; assuring them that he should have spontaneously restored them to freedom, if they had not prevented his intention.

Alexander now led his army to Thebes: where, after having subdued the pertinacity of Bœotia and Athens, the two states who had most opposed his measures, he ordered all the Greek deputies to meet him at Corinth. At this assembly, the former decree of the Amphictyons was confirmed; and he was, by their suffrages, commissioned to succeed Philip as captain-general of Greece. At the same time, the council declared the amount of force which each state was to furnish in the Persian war.

In the city of Corinth resided Diogenes, who had embraced voluntary poverty, according to the principles of the cynics; preferring a free mind, under self-controul, to riches and cares. The eccentric philosopher was sunning himself in a cypress grove, planted in the Craneum, a part of the suburbs of Corinth, when Alexander, drawn by strong curiosity, approached. The king, in a condescending manner, inquired, in what he might gratify or oblige him: "Move on one side," said the cynic, "and do not intercept the sun-beams." Surprized at this unexpected reply, the Macedonian could not refrain from admiring the

man, whom a monarch in the height of prosperity had it not in his power to oblige; exclaiming, that " He should choose to be Dio-" genes if he were not Alexander." For that elevation of mind with which the philosopher looked down upon all those things in the pursuit of which the rest of mankind sacrifice themselves, did not escape the penetration of the youthful sovereign; at the same time, he was too blinded by insatiable desires to be able to comprehend how much better it might be to resign superfluities than to possess necessaries; or rather, than to possess those conveniencies, which, in the overrating opinion of mankind, are considered as necessaries.

On leaving the Peloponnesus, the sanguine leader of the Greeks visited Delphi, to inquire from Apollo the event of the Persian expedition. The virgin priestess having declared it to be unlawful to consult the deity for some days, Alexander went to her, and seized her with his own hands, and was proceeding to drag her forcibly to the temple. In her way thither, after silently reflecting that the custom of the country had been overcome by the king's singular procedure, she cried out: " Thou art invincible, my " son!" At which words he stopped her, saying, ' That he accepted the omen, and that there ' was no occasion for any further oracle.'

These transactions of Alexander in Greece, passed in a small space of time. Returned to his kingdom, he vigorously applied himself to vindicate the dignity of the Macedonian sceptre. Every thing prepared, he marched from Amphipolis in the beginning of the spring, against the unsubdued inhabitants of Thrace; and in ten days arrived at mount Hæmus. A great body of Thracians, to obstruct his progress, had taken possession of the summit of a mountain commanding the pass. Round their camp they had planted war-chariots so as to resemble an entrenchment, intending to roll them down upon their assailants. Alexander penetrating the stratagem of the Barbarians, gave orders to his soldiers, 'That upon the furious advance of the cha-'riots, they should open to the right and left, and 'thus let them pass without mischief; and such 'Macedonians as could not move in time, 'should fall flat upon the ground, covering 'themselves with their bucklers, as its impene-'trable shell covers the tortoise.' Thus, they rendered abortive the enemy's stratagem; for a great part of the chariots rushed through the avenues made for them; and those which whirled over the Macedonians couching under targets, flew with too bounding and rapid a course to crush by their weight the individuals whom they touched. Thus the tempest rattled by

with harmless thunder. When delivered from this terror, the Macedonians with eager acclamations began the charge. The archers from the right wing, advancing, galled the protruding van of the Barbarians with incessant flights of arrows. So that the phalanx was covered while it moved up to the summit of the mountain: here they had no sooner rendered their footing firm, than the victory ceased to be doubtful; and they had merely to drive or disperse the enemy, who were either naked or but slightly armed. But the circumstance of not being loaded with accoutrements, which had exposed the Barbarians during the engagement, promoted their flight; and the greater part escaped without difficulty, being well acquainted with the country. About fifteen hundred men were killed; a great number of women and children were taken; and the conqueror obtained a booty which appeared ample, contrasted with the known penury of the country. He sent the plunder and the captives of both sexes, escorted by Lysanias and Philotas, to be sold in the maritime cities on the Euxine *.

Having opened a passage through mount Hæmus, he penetrated into the interior of Thrace. The inhabitants of that country had

* Arrian. Alexand. Expedit. lib. i. p. 2, et seq.

a grove consecrated by their ancestors to Bacchus, whom they held in peculiar veneration. Here, while Alexander was sacrificing according to Barbarian rites, there arose from the wine which he poured on the altar a column of flame, which mounting above the roof of the temple, seemed aspiring to the heavens: hence the spectators inferred, that the king's glory was to have no other bounds. Another prodigy countenanced the interpretation of the preceding. In the country of the Odryssa, in the interior of Thrace, stands the mountain Libethrus, which gives its name to the city renowned as the birth-place of Orpheus: here, the statue of the poet, carved of cypress wood, and watched with deifying attention, was observed to sweat profusely. Witnesses of this phenomenon reported it to the king. Many were fearfully solicitous to know what it portended. Aristander dissipated their anxiety, by announcing, that the perspiration of the statue prefigured the arduous employment which the exploits of Alexander would create for future poets, and was a symbol of the generous heat with which so ennobling a subject would fire them *.

The Triballi, a brave people, inhabit the re-

* *Quibus decantandis alumni filiique Musarum multum* desudaturi *essent.*—Freinsh.——To translate this literally, might, in these days, injure the reputation of Aristander, as a conjuror.

gion which lies beyond mount Hæmus. Syrmus, their king, apprized of the Macedonian expedition, had fled to Peucé, an island in the Ister, carrying with him all incapacitated by sex or age for service in the field: the river, which had steep and rugged banks, availing Syrmus as a fortification, contributed, with the vigilance and bravery with which it was defended, to foil the attack of Alexander, who had few ships. What fleet Alexander had, he had just received from Byzantium *. The Macedonians were forced to retire, without adding the reduction of the island to their successes. In their approach to it, they had attacked a separate army of the Triballi, and, losing scarcely fifty men, had killed three thousand of the enemy.

CHAP. XII.

Alexander's expedition beyond the Ister against the Getæ. Embassy from the Germans: whose alliance he accepts. He grants peace to the Triballi. Guards against commotions in Thrace. Defeats a rebellion of the Illyrians.

RELINQUISHING the attempt to reduce king Syrmus, Alexander turned the fury of his

* Arrian, ut supra.

arms against the Getæ, who, on the opposite bank, seemed to challenge him with four thousand horse and ten thousand foot, drawn up in order of battle. He undertook this dangerous enterprize not so much for any useful influence which it might have on the war, as from a desire of fame, and that he might enjoy the triumph of having effected over the largest river in Europe, a passage which ferocious nations stood armed to dispute. Having embarked as many cavalry, fifteen hundred, as could be received in a few vessels collected from the natives, who had employed them in fishing, commerce, or piracy,—he transported four thousand infantry, partly in boats obtained in the same way; and partly—on hides filled with straw, on bladders, and other buoyant materials. Night favoured their passage, and fields of high and thick corn masked their landing. He directed the foot to march through the corn with transversed spears, to facilitate their passage through it, and to promote their concealment*; the cavalry moved in the rear, till the Macedonians had penetrated to the plain, when the cavalry advanced to the front. The Getæ, struck with terror at the unexpected appearance of their enemies, scarcely bore the first charge of the

* Gillies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.

cavalry; and no sooner arrived the phalanx under Nicanor, than they fled in precipitate disorder to a town four miles distant from the river. Though the king did not pursue without skirting the river, to avoid the danger of an ambush, they had barely time to escape to the northern desert with their wives and children, and such things as they could hastily transport on horses.

The booty which they had abandoned, was consigned to the care of Meleager and Philip. In the same day,—Alexander demolished the town; erected on the banks of the Ister, altars to Jupiter and Hercules, and to the god of the Ister, because it had been propitious in his passage; and retired with the army, satisfied with a bloodless victory.

He was followed by messengers, as well from king Syrmus as from the bordering nations, bringing presents, and soliciting peace. There now, also, reached him ambassadors from the Celts or Germans, who inhabit the whole region which lies between the Adriatic gulf and the source of the Ister; rising in Germany, this river, in the language of that country, is called the *Danube.* The king suppressed his astonishment at their large stature; and to chastise their evident haughtiness of spirit, asked them, what, of all things, they most dreaded? expecting

them to acknowlege, that his victories had intimidated them. But they replied, 'That they 'were not greatly afraid of any thing, unless it 'were that the heavens might fall upon their 'heads; at the same time, they had a value for 'the friendship of brave men.' Struck with so unexpected an answer, he was silent for an interval, or consumed the interval in whispering to his attendants: "The Celtæ are an arrogant "nation." He then declared them his friends, and entered into that alliance which these rugged negociators had come to seek*.

He granted peace to Syrmus, and the nations bordering on the Triballi.

Feeling that he had sufficiently asserted the honour of his arms in these inhospitable regions, he turned his mind to the expedition against Persia, where the prize was higher, while the difficulty and danger were less. His uncle, Alexander of Epirus, surnamed Molossus, afterwards reflected on him as having directed his arms eastward from this motive. The king of Epirus, who in several severe campaigns invaded our rising state, while Alexander of Macedon was over-running Persia, complained of the inequality of their lots, observing: "I con-

* Arrian, lib. i. p. 5. Strabo, lib. viii. p. 208, 209.

"tend with men; my nephew, with wo-
"men *."

On his return, Alexander carried with him the chieftains of Thrace, and such of the inhabitants as were distinguished by their riches, activity, or courage, lest they should attempt any innovation in his absence. He led them in his train under the pretext, that they were selected to be his companions in the Persian war. He knew that faction becomes a motionless hydra, when deprived of its heads.

In his course homeward through the countries of the Agrians and the Pæonians, Alexander received intelligence of a commotion in Illyria. To trace back for an interval the history of Macedonia and Illyria,—When Philip, on the death of Perdiccas, assumed the government, he found part of Macedon in possession of the victorious Illyrians, and the remainder subject to a disgraceful tribute. To rescue the independence of his country, Philip waited only till he had disposed of his other enemies, before he marched an army of ten thousand foot and

* The description of the Persian army, infra, book iii. chap. 3. sect. 7. will justify Alexander of Epirus in calling them women. Still the extraordinary brilliancy of his nephew's exploits in an expedition, an obligation to prosecute which, descended to him with his crown, appears too conspicuous to require vindication.

six hundred horse against the Illyrians. Bardyllis, by talents and valour, had risen from the obscure condition of a collier to be king of Illyria, a post in which he had established himself by remarkable equity in partitioning the spoil with his soldiers. This leader, now at the age of ninety, sensible of the extraordinary abilities and vigour of Philip, now in the summer of life, proposed a peace on the basis, that each party should retain his present possessions. Philip, on the contrary, insisted that Bardyllis should immediately evacuate all his conquests in Macedon: Bardyllis answered by advancing into the field: the two armies met; and, after a sanguinary conflict, the Illyrians were totally defeated with the loss of seven thousand men killed, among whom fell their warlike leader *. In consequence of this battle, Illyria sunk into a province dependent on Macedon; and so remained, without an effort to rise till the present era of Alexander's life. But Clitus, the son of Bardyllis, conceiving it to be a favourable moment to burst from subjection, while Alexander was engaged with the powerful nations beyond the Ister, prevailed upon the Illyrians to revolt, and concerted an alliance with Glaucias, king of the Taulantii, another Illyrian tribe. Fur-

* Leland's Philip, book i. sect. 2.

ther, Clitus had gained to his desperate purpose the Autariatæ, who undertook to fall suddenly upon the Macedonians during their march. Langarus, king of the Agrians, who, in the life-time of Philip, had corresponded with Alexander, remained true to his interest, imparted what he knew of the design, and entreated Alexander to commit the management of the latter people to him, promising that the Agrians should furnish the Autariatæ so much employment, that, in the necessity of defending themselves, they would cease to think of disturbing the Macedonians. The king encouraged this young prince with high commendations of his fidelity; honoured him with magnificent presents; and, on dismissing him, promised, that should Langarus perform the service which he had undertaken, he should receive in marriage Cyna, Alexander's sister, whom Philip had had by an Illyrian woman, and had given to Amyntas. The Agrian chief was faithful and successful; but died before he could be put in possession of the promised reward.

The Autariatæ counteracted and reduced, Alexander advanced, without opposition, as far as Pellion, a town in Dessaretia, situate on the river Eordaicus. The Autariatæ here, indeed, presented a countenance as determined to give him battle, rushing out of their fortresses with

every demonstration of fury: but they fled before Alexander could commence the action, notwithstanding they had possessed themselves of all the advantageous posts, and of the roads which were rendered difficult by extreme narrowness, or dangerous by the neighbourhood of woods. The Macedonians now met a spectacle to disgust and shock them: Three boys, as many virgins, and three black rams; all slaughtered together; lying in a confused heap: The blood of these the Barbarians, incited by a horrible superstition, had mingled, in their cruel rites, as a sacrifice to the gods, in order to obtain courage in battle: but the offended deity revenged the inhumanity and impiety of these guilty wretches, by refusing to animate them with courage, and by causing them to expose their extreme cowardice.

The king having driven them within their fortifications, proposed to confine them there by raising an outward wall; but the arrival, on the following day, of Glaucias, chief of the Taulantii, with a great force, dissipated all his expectations of taking the town, and obliged him to plan a safe retreat. Meanwhile, Philotas had been sent out with an escort of horse, to forage with the cattle used to transport the baggage: Alexander was now informed that the detachment was in danger; for Glaucias,

who had seized the heights which surrounded the plain, was waiting to fall upon it. The king, therefore, leaving a part of his army in the camp, to prevent any sallies from the town, marched promptly with the rest of the troops to support Philotas: by this movement he intimidated the Illyrians, and safely conducted the foragers to the camp.

In his line of march, he had to provide against many obstacles and dangers; for the river, on one side, and steep and craggy heights, on the other, left so compressed an interval for a road, that, in places, it was difficult for four men to march abreast; and Glaucias had posted, on the overlooking hills, several companies of archers and slingers, with a considerable detachment of heavy-armed soldiers. This induced Alexander to place two hundred cavalry before the right, and as many before the left wing of the phalanx, directing both these covering parties, 'To keep their spears erect till a preconcerted 'signal; then to present them to the enemy, fa-'cing to the right, or to the left, as in the act 'of making a charge.' This stratagem kept the enemy in suspense. The phalanx, divided into two bodies, at the same time pressed quickly forward. At length, reuniting the phalanx, Alexander drew it up in the form of a wedge, and fell furiously on the Illyrian forces, who,

amazed at the promptitude and generalship of the movement, fled hastily towards the town. The few enemies which remained on the mountain which the Macedonians had thus passed, the king now dislodged, and with two thousand Agrians and his archers took possession of the post, in order to cover and facilitate the passage of the phalanx over the Eordaicus. Nor was this unobserved by the enemy, who having watched till the completely-armed of Alexander's force had passed the river, suddenly carried their whole army toward the mountains, to assail the Macedonian rear. But the king, who commanded these light troops in person, received them with undaunted firmness; while the phalanx, with loud acclamations, appeared in motion to repass the river to succour their companions in arms; demonstrations which struck terror into the Illyrians. Alexander, who had foreseen these incidents in succession, had ordered his troops, on reaching the opposite side, to form in order of battle, and to extend their left (which inclined toward the river and the enemy) as far as possible, in order to make the more formidable display. The Taulantii, led by this stratagem to expect that the whole army would fall upon them, retired to a small distance. Alexander, seizing the opportunity, moved with celerity to the river,

which he passed with the first body; and to protect those bringing up the rear from being further harrassed by the enemy, he disposed his engines on the bank so as to pour across furious discharges of missile weapons upon the Barbarians; such of his troops as had already entered the river plying them, at the same time, with darts and arrows. By this means forcing the enemy to fall back, he brought the most exposed of his companies over without the loss of an individual.

Three days afterwards, the king received intelligence that the enemy, imputing his departure to fear, and regarding all danger to themselves as ceased, straggled here and there without order or precaution, having round their camp neither breast-work nor entrenchment, nor advanced guards, nor centinels. Taking, therefore, with him, the archers and Agrians, and that body of Macedonians which Perdiccas and Cænos commanded, Alexander repassed the river in the night, and marched towards the Barbarians with incessant expedition, commanding the rest of the army to follow. Without waiting the junction, a delay which might have forfeited the opportunity, he sent forward the light-armed soldiers; then with such other forces as he had collected, falling himself upon the enemy, whom he found unarmed and half-

asleep, he made a great slaughter, took a considerable number prisoners, and put the remainder to flight, pursuing them as far as the mountains of the Taulantii. Clitus, in complete consternation, at first took refuge in Pellion: but afterwards, distrusting either the fortifications or his troops, he burnt the town; and deserting both the Autariatæ and his own Illyrians, went to live in exile among the Taulantii.

CHAP. XIII.

The Thebans, deceived by a rumour that Alexander had been killed, perfidiously murder his officers in the Cadmea, and commence hostilities. They send embassies to the other states. Demosthenes' public advice, and individual conduct. Temporizing policy of a venal Arcadian leader. Alexander's rapid march. His moderation. The obstinacy of the Thebans. The city stormed and taken. Sufferings of the Thebans. Pindar's posterity among the families spared and favoured. Anecdote of Timoclea.

MEANWHILE, a rumour pervading Greece that Alexander had been killed by the Triballi, inspired the enemies of the Macedonian interest with sanguine hopes of a revolution. Men of-

ten draw upon themselves real calamities, by a propensity to believe, on the slightest authority, news which meets their wishes; and to measures commenced on the faith of a fabrication, they adhere as tenaciously, as though by cherishing an inveterate mistake, they could conquer truth itself.

One practiser on credulity was vile enough to affirm, that he saw the king surrounded; and to obviate all doubt in the auditors, he assured them, that the wound which he showed, he had received in the same action. The eagerness with which the ears of the common people of Greece drank this untruth, and the warmth and confidence with which it was circulated, occasioned great disasters to the city of Thebes. For part of those citizens whom Philip had banished, being elated by it, conspired, under the orders of Phœnice and Prothytes, basely to murder the Macedonian officers attached to the garrison of the Cadmea: Amyntas and Timolaus*, the commanders, in the midst of a walk which they were taking, at a distance from the citadel, unsuspicious of treachery, were suddenly dispatched. The inhabitants of Thebes concurring with unfortunate alacrity in this ill-timed effort to deliver their country, blockaded

* Gillies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.

the garrison; surrounding it with a double rampart and a moat, to exclude provisions or reinforcements.

Having effected this, the Thebans expedited ambassadors to all the Grecian states, entreating assistance to recover that liberty of which they had been so unworthily deprived. At Athens,—Demosthenes, from rooted abhorrence of Macedonian ascendency, moved his fellow-citizens to send speedy succours to Thebes:—these were not, however, sent, because the Athenians were so intimidated by the unexpected return of Alexander, that they deemed it prudent, first, to observe which way fortune inclined. Meanwhile, Demosthenes assisted the Thebans from his private funds, and transmitted them a great supply of arms: those capable of military service, whom Philip had deprived of arms, being thus equipped, closely pressed the Macedonian garrison in the Cadmea.

A strong body of Peloponnesians soon collected at the Isthmus: to these Antipater dispatched messengers, cautioning them not to infringe the decree of united Greece, by entertaining overtures from Alexander's declared enemies: they, however, gave audience to the Theban ambassadors. The mass of the Peloponnesian soldiers sympathized in the feelings, and adopted the resolutions, of the revolted

state:—while Astylus, their leader, an Arcadian by extraction, had recourse to ambiguity and delay, not so much from any apprehended difficulty in the undertaking, as from the impulse of the most sordid avarice; calculating, from the urgent necessities of the Thebans, to wring the greater price for his assistance. He demanded ten talents, a sum which the Thebans could not immediately make up; the Macedonian party brought him that sum, and he remained inactive. Thus was rendered abortive the expectation of aid from the Arcadians. Demosthenes, however, by an opportune donative to another body of Peloponnesians, prevented them from marching against the Thebans. Demosthenes is represented to have received three hundred talents from the Persians, to be disbursed in a manner calculated to undermine the plans, and embarrass the proceedings of Alexander.

As soon as intelligence of these transactions could reach the king, he marched from Pellion with unremitting rapidity through Eordæa and Elymiotis; and having passed the rocks Strymphæa and Paryæa, on the seventh day arrived at Pellenæ, a town in Thessaly. In six days more he had penetrated to Bœotia; whence he immediately stretched to Onchestus, distant about six miles from Thebes. Mean-

while, entirely ignorant of the motions of Alexander, the Thebans acted with hardihood rather than wisdom. They did not KNOW that the Macedonian army had yet passed the Pylæ; and with regard to the king's arrival in person, they treated it as altogether incredible; seriously asserting it to be a different Alexander, a descendant of Æropus, that now commanded the army.

The king, having encamped near the temple of Iölaus, before the gate Prœtis, had the moderation to allow the Thebans an interval to repent. They, instead of negociating, made a sally against the outposts of the Macedonians, killing some, and dislodging the rest of the centinels: they now closely approached the camp, when the king ordered the light-armed troops to drive them back. On the following day, Alexander advanced his army to the gate leading towards Attica, to be at hand to assist his garrison shut-up in the citadel: here awaiting the last resolution of the Thebans, he intimated his willingness to pardon them, if they had become repentant. Those citizens, however, who avowed pacific intentions, being outvoted, were obliged to yield to the counsels and influence of the reinstated exiles, and of the party which had recalled the exiles; for both these, sensible that there would remain to them no hopes of safety, if the Macedonians should

become masters of the town, chose rather to be entombed in the ruins of their country, than to purchase its safety by their own immolation; and this faction had drawn several chiefs of Bœotian cities into their desperate confederacy.

Their consummate phrenzy appeared in this circumstance:—Upon Alexander's requiring them to deliver up to him the authors of the rebellion, on his assurance, that two heads should expiate the crime of the whole city, they had the audacity to demand, on their part, that Alexander should surrender to them Philotas and Antipater, his two chief favourites; at the same time, by a herald they made proclamation, 'That if any were willing to join the Great 'King*, and the Thebans, in a league against 'the Tyrant, to recover the liberty of Greece, 'they might assemble in the city of Thebes 'with security.'

According to Ptolemy's original narrative, which is contradicted by some compilations, Alexander still refrained from giving orders to storm the town: but Perdiccas—who commanded in that part of the camp facing the works which the Thebans had raised to blockade the Cadmea—without waiting for a signal from Alexander, fell furiously upon the The-

* This title is given by all the Greek authors to the king of Persia.

bans; and, forcing their outward wall and entrenchment, came to a close engagement with them: induced by his example, Amyntas, the son of Andromenes*, whose quarters were adjoining, charged the enemy with his brigade in the same bold manner. Now concerned for the safety of his men, who had rushed precipitately within the Theban works, Alexander approached with the main-body of his army; he took a position with the phalanx before the trenches, while the light-armed troops, by his orders, broke through to support their companions.

The conflict was obstinate; and Perdiccas being severely wounded in an effort to force the inward entrenchment, was carried from the place of action: a great part of the Cretan archers, with their leader, Eurybotas, were destroyed. The Thebans pressed hard upon the Macedonians, who, deserted by their intrepidity, were flying back to Alexander, pursued by those whom they had attacked. But, at hand stood the king,—with the phalanx prepared in order of battle: he fell upon the enemy, disordered and scattered by the haste with which they had rushed from under cover of their works, and totally routed them.

This reverse plunged the Thebans into such

* Arrian, lib. i. 9, 13.

consternation, that they had not presence of mind to shut the gate through which they retreated into the town: while part of Alexander's army took advantage of that fatal error, the garrison of the Cadmea sallied into the streets adjoining the citadel. Thus was the noblest city in Greece, in one day, attacked and carried. Every variety of cruelty was inflicted upon this hapless community; men and women were piled in promiscuous slaughter.

The infamy of this barbarity is chiefly due to the Phocians, the Platæans, the Orchomenii, and the Thespians, who, as natives of the surrounding cities, had long regarded the superior power, opulence, and prosperity of Thebes, with impotent, unpatriotic jealousy; with morbid, inveterate hatred. The Macedonians tempered vengeance by the laws of war.

When at length the king's proclamation arrested the slaughter, there had already perished six thousand men; the surviving Thebans were made prisoners. Of the number sold as slaves, thirty thousand had belonged to the class of free citizens. According to Clitarchus, the whole booty amounted to four hundred and forty talents: others rate the produce from the sales of the captives at that sum. The Thessalians owed the Thebans a hundred talents, from which the king released the debtors, as his allies.

Alexander exempted, from the general captivity to which the Thebans were doomed—the ministers of the temples; those families by whom he, or his father, had been entertained, when resident in Thebes; and a few of the magistrates and citizens who were known to have been averse from the war. The victor also pardoned the posterity of Pindar*, out of veneration to that poet, who in his odes had celebrated king Alexander, a paternal ancestor about five removes in the direct line from the present king of Macedon; and the house which the poet had inhabited he preserved, by a particular injunction, from being fired by his licentious soldiers. For Alexander not only cherished contemporary virtue, but highly revered the memory of the departed great and good, heaping favours on their descendants. Thus, after he had gained the last victory over Darius, he transmitted a share of the booty to the Crotoniates; rewarding them, on the testimony of history, because in the invasion of Xerxes, when all the other Greek colonies despaired of Greece, they had sent one galley to Salamis, under the command of Phayllus. He likewise diffused a generous shower of gifts and honours on the Platæans, because their ancestors had bestowed their territory on those Greeks who fought against Mardonius.

* Freins. transposit.

Timoclea and her kindred must be added to the inhabitants of Thebes who received their liberty from the conqueror. This reward, and a reputation which still lives with unfading lustre, this heroine obtained by fortitude under the following circumstances. A Thracian captain of cavalry in Alexander's service, after having violated the person of Timoclea, ordered her with menaces to disclose where she had hidden her most valuable effects. More afflicted at the loss of her honour, than anxious to preserve her riches; this lady, pointing to a well, pretended to have there secured her jewels and treasures: he bent over its mouth with impatient and prying avarice; she loosened his footing and precipitated him to the bottom, whence he made fruitless struggles to climb, she casting stones upon him till she had killed him. His troop soon afterwards seized her, and carried her before Alexander. Hearing her name, the king inquired from her her quality, and whether she had committed the offence alleged: with firm countenance and voice, she replied: "I am the "sister of that Theagenes who lost his life for "the liberty of Greece. Your officer I killed "to revenge a degrading outrage, and to vin- "dicate my unconsenting spirit. Do you doom "me to death by way of atonement? Know, "that to a virtuous woman nothing is so des- "picable as life, after such a violation: let me,

" then, perish as soon as you please; I shall die " too late, since I have survived my reputation " and the independence of my country." Alexander declared, that the Thracian had been deservedly killed, and that he would protect the free-born women of Thebes from similar outrages. With strong expressions to Timoclea of esteem and approbation, he restored liberty to her and to her kindred, and gave them the privilege of departing to reside wherever they pleased.

CHAP. XIV.

Supernatural presages of the fate of Thebes. Demolition of its buildings, and division of its territory. Antiquity of Thebes. Alexander preserves the temples and publick statues. Alexander alleged to have repented of the destruction of Thebes. Notice that Cassander, when he had rebuilt it, could not restore its greatness. Alexander demands the Athenian orators: sketch of affronts which had been offered to him. He listens to submissive overtures from the Grecian states. Becomes a citizen of Megara. Distrusts Sparta.

THE destruction of Thebes was preceded by several prodigies. In the temple of Ceres, worshipped under the name of Thesmophoros, hung

a cobweb which was supposed to afford indications to diviners: three months before Alexander began the siege of Thebes, this web alarmed the superstitious by changing its hue to deep black; for it was remembered that during an interval approaching the battle of Leuctra, which elevated Thebes to the summit of glory and prosperity, its colour had been pure white. Shortly before the arrival of the Macedonians, the statues in the forum were seen to sweat: distressing cries were emitted from the lake Onchestus: the streams of the fountain Dirce flowed with blood. These ominous denunciations might have alarmed these obstinate people, if pride had not predestined them to ruin. For looking fondly on the glory of their ancestors, whose manners they had forsaken, and whose talents had not descended to them, they expected to rival them in success: precipitating the subversion of Thebes, their temerity was so extreme, that with little more than ten thousand soldiers they felt no difficulty in defying an army of thirty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, all veterans familiar with victory.

Arbiter of the fate of Thebes, Alexander called a council of his allies, and referred it to them to consider how they should use the advantage. Among them were the Phocians, and

many of the minor Bœotian states, whose ancient discords with the Thebans had brought upon themselves severe injuries and unfortunate consequences, which had not ceased to operate. Blind and ungenerous enemies, they deemed that neither their revenge nor their safety would be complete, as long as Thebes should remain standing; their counsels were adopted; and the confederates decreed, that the walls and edifices of the place should be demolished; and that its territory should be apportioned among the conquerors, at the pleasure of the king. Thus one day tore out of the bosom of Greece this august city, which had given birth to heroes and to gods; and which, from the remote era pointed to by the *oracle of the ravens*, had subsisted eight hundred years, the splendid and flourishing inheritance of the same race of people. To revert to times long anterior to Alexander, the Bœotians, when expelled from their country by the Thracians and Pelasgians, were told by the oracle, 'That after four centuries 'they should recover their paternal lands, and 'that it behoved them, in the meantime, to 'settle where they should see white ravens.' They migrated to Arne, a town in Thessaly, at which place the fugitive families were induced to seat themselves, by seeing a brood of ravens encrusted with a white coating of

*gypsum**, which some boys had put on in sport.

The buildings of Thebes were demolished to the sound of the flute, in the same manner as Athens had, sixty years before, been demolished by Lysander. The Macedonian conqueror, however, protected the temples and other sacred piles, by a positive injunction to the workmen employed in dismantling the place; and he required them, in the dilapidation of contiguous edifices, to guard with particular care against defacing or injuring religious structures; his natural veneration for the gods being stimulated by a recent example of terrible retribution inflicted on some soldiers, who, while pillaging the temple of the Cabiri, which stood before the town, were consumed by a sudden tempest of thunder and lightning. The statues erected in public stations to the gods, and to eminent men, were also left untouched; and it is recorded, that in the general consternation, when the city was taken and destroyed, some inhabitants had concealed pieces of gold in the drapery of those statues, in the folds of which they were found safe, when Cassander, Antipater's son, twenty years after, rebuilt the town.

Alexander afterwards repented of his exces-

* Plaister of Paris.

sive severity, when he reflected that, by the destruction of Thebes, he had forced out one of the eyes of Greece*. He is represented to have regarded the death of Clitus, and the contumacy of the Macedonians, who dastardly refused to penetrate to the interior of India, as vindictive strokes of Bacchus on him as an individual, from having blotted from among cities and states the place of that deity's birth. And some writers have ascribed the king's death, which happened after an excess in wine, to the resentment of Bacchus.

Cassander, in rebuilding Thebes†, is considered to have acted not so much from compassion to the exiles, as from animosity to the memory of Alexander, and a design to detract from his glory. But though he restored, in their former extensive circuit, the walls of the place,—yet he in vain invited back its ancient manners; its primitive strength and prosperity never returned: the subject of calamity, and the seat of decay, it has lingered in existence to our days, but is now almost too inconsiderable to be called a town.

These transactions finished,—Alexander dispatched a message to the Athenians, announcing, 'That they must immediately deliver into

* Freins. transposit. † Ibid.

'his power those orators who persisted in ex-
'citing a seditious opposition to him, and that
'if they betrayed any reluctance to part with
'their turbulent advisers, such contumacy
'would draw upon Athens, effects as much
'to be deplored as the recent disasters of The-
'bes.' And he demanded, by name, those ora-
tors who had displeased him. Upon this, Pho-
cion, to whom, on account of his exemplary
probity, the Athenians paid great deference,
suggested, in the popular assembly, that it were
ineligible to persevere in irritating the young
and victorious monarch; and he exhorted those
individuals, over whom the danger hung, to
imitate the daughters of Leus and Hyacinthus,
nor hesitate to resign their lives for the good of
their country. Demosthenes, who was one of
their public men thus proposed to be immo-
lated, now rose, and represented to the assem-
bly, 'That the Athenians were seduced into a
'mistake, which would fatally affect them-
'selves, if they imagined, that by surrendering
'a select few, they could procure safety for the
'whole community; that the Macedonians had
'artfully included those persons in their pro-
'scription, whose vigilance and virtue they
'most feared; that the qualities which might
'be serviceable to the Athenians, were hateful
'to the enemy; that when they should have

'swept from their posts the champions of pub-
'lic liberty, the Macedonians would assail the
'defenceless and destitute city, as wolves rush
'upon sheep, when their guardian dogs are re-
'moved.'

Demosthenes had evinced inveterate antipathy to the power and name of Macedonia by so many acts, as well in an individual, as in a public character, that he concluded it to be now too late to offer terms to Alexander, or expect pardon. On Philip's death he had moved the Athenians to build a minor temple in honour of Pausanias; to thank the gods by sacrifices and libations on the public altars; and to make loud expressions, and a conspicuous display, of their joy. As a reason for this extravagant triumph, he descanted on the inferiority of Alexander to his father: sometimes terming him "the boy;" sometimes coupling with his name the more contemptuous epithet of *margites*, which, among the Greeks, was proverbially applied to a man insane or infatuated. Whether corrupted by the Persian gold, or proof against its influence, he had been the incendiary of almost all the wars which the Greeks had waged against Philip and his son. He had—quite recently—instigated Attalus, Alexander's implacable enemy, to arm a division of the Macedonians against their

king, by encouraging Attalus to expect the alliance of the Athenians.

The city of Athens, itself, had carried the practice of insult to extremity, by dashing from their pedestals Philip's statues, and converting the materials to the most opprobrious uses; the ignorant rabble, forgetful of the past, and regardless of the future, promptly acted all the indignities which a few who abused the influence of popularity designed. The last offence of the Athenians, and which highly incensed the successor of Philip, was their having entertained—in defiance of his edict—the Theban citizens, who escaped from the ruins of their country: The consideration and distinction with which these were treated, seemed to proceed less from humane sympathy for the fugitives, than from ostentatious opposition to the conqueror: The annual solemn mysteries, which the Athenians were accustomed to celebrate in honour of Bacchus, they omitted at this conjuncture, out of concern for the misfortunes of Thebes, or for the success of Alexander.

The king, whose mind was intensely turned to the expedition against Persia, was disposed to conciliation rather than vengeance. Wherefore, when Demades (who had received marks of favour from Philip) appeared as the bearer,

from the Athenians, of submissive propositions, accompanied with a copy of their decree for trying the orators accused*,—Alexander met their compromise by waving his denunciation against Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and other speakers, provided Charidemus was banished. Charidemus sought an asylum among the Persians. Many other considerable persons, who felt towards the king rooted animosity, yet feared his persecution, left the city and repaired to his enemies. These emigrations multiplied the obstacles to be encountered by the Macedonians in the invasion of Asia.

Shortly afterwards, Alexander reduced the Leucadians, who were elated to defiance by a confidence in the impregnable situation of their town, and in their store of provisions, which they conceived would outlast the longest siege: but the first operation of Alexander was to assail and take the forts lying round it,—permitting the citizens and soldiers, expelled from those places, to pass into Leucadia, where the inhabitants, thus augmented to a vast multitude, soon exhausted the magazines.

There now remained no state in Greece, which—when it reflected on the overthrow of the Thebans; (whose heavy-armed soldiers had

* Gillies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.

from the earliest times been held in high reputation;) or on the reduction of Leucadia—could continue to rely on its army or on its fortifications.

The impression that Alexander was irresistible, drew from the Peloponnesus several trains of ambassadors, to congratulate him on his having finished the war against the Barbarians, and on his having chastised the rash insolence of a portion of Greece. The Arcadians, who had been in motion, preparing to assist the Thebans, atoned to the conqueror, by declaring that they had sentenced to death the leaders in their extravagant proceedings. The Elei alleged, that, if they had recalled particular individuals from banishment, it was under a persuasion that those individuals were personally agreeable to Alexander. The Ætolians expressed their repentance, that they had been implicated in a ferment, which spread like a contagion over so great a part of Greece. The address of the Megareans had the pleasant effect of exciting smiles in the king and his attendants, by the new and questionable distinction which they proposed to confer on him; their deputies gravely announced, 'That his benevolent intentions and actual benefits to the Greeks, had induced the Megareans to decree him the freedom of their city.' This lost

much of its apparent absurdity, when they proceeded to state, that they had never granted that honour to any, except Hercules: and the king, with an air of satisfaction, consented to be enrolled a free citizen of Megara.

To the addresses from the rest, he replied, 'That he had nothing more at heart than the 'tranquillity and security of Greece; and that 'provided they refrained from sedition in fu-'ture, he readily forgave the past.'

He harboured a great distrust of the intentions of Sparta. As a check upon her, he, therefore, reinstated the sons of Philiades, on whom he could depend, in posts of command and authority in the capital of the neighbouring republic, Messenia, whence they had been expelled. Of Pelene, a town belonging to the Achæans, he promoted Chæron to be governor; and he placed individuals as completely devoted to him, over Sicyon and other cities, in order that they might penetrate the counsels, and give him information of the movements, of the principal Peloponnesian state.

A few months sufficed for the performance of such a number of things of magnitude: in that short space Alexander terminated a difficult and complex war, with more ease than another

would have prepared to enter upon it. His conquest he attributed to celerity in execution: to an inquirer respecting the means by which he had subdued Greece, he answered; "by de-" laying nothing."

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

SUPPLEMENT.

BOOK II.

THE BATTLE OF THE GRANICUS. THE SIEGES OF MILETUS AND HALICARNASSUS.

CHAP. I.

Sketch of the Persian dynasty, ascending from Darius to Cyrus. Terror of the Persians under the impending expedition of Philip succeeded by momentary contempt for Alexander. Now awed by his distant victories, they prepare measures of defence, and hire fifty thousand Greeks. Description of mount Ida. Operations of Memnon, Parmenio, and Calas.

AT this time the sceptre of the Persian empire was wielded by Darius Codomannus, who had obtained it by the influence of Bagoas, an Egyptian eunuch, a short time previously to the death of Philip. The same Bagoas, a courtier and

minister as perfidious and atrocious as ever abused the confidence of a sovereign, had successively poisoned the two preceding kings, Ochus and his youngest son Arses, whom he had elevated to sovereign power as he since raised Codomannus; and the traitor made a merit of transferring the crown to princes to whom the hope of completely directing them was his only attachment. At the same time, as the direct line from Artaxerxes Mnemon was entirely extinct, and as Darius Codomannus had sprung from a collateral branch of the family—being the son of Arsanes, whose father Ostanes was the uncle of Ochus—he was not considered by the people as reigning without a title. With the army he had an established character, from having killed, in the war of Ochus against the Cadusii, a fierce and powerful champion of the enemy, who had defied the bravest of the Persians to single combat. While a subject, he was called Codomannus, a name which, according to the Persian custom, he resigned when he stepped on the throne, assuming that of Darius. He was the twelfth* of the monarchs who

* Hic à conditore regni Cyro *decimus* imperio Persarum prefuit. FREINS.—The text is corrected by the assistance of several modern writers and chronologists, who have detected inaccuracies, and remedied omissions, in some of the ancient writers referred to as authorities by Freinshemius.

reigned from Cyrus, rejecting from the series the usurper, Smerdis *Magus*. Ochus, the tenth in order, was the son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, who was the son of Darius Nothus. This last-named Darius, and Sogdian, whom he dethroned and succeeded, and Xerxes II. whom Sogdian dethroned and succeeded, were all brothers. Their father, Artaxerxes Longimanus, the fifth legitimate possessor of the crown, was the son of Xerxes I. who was the son of Darius. The latter, whose father was Hystaspes, a Persian satrap, thus obtained the throne. Eight months after the death of Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, —it was discovered that the line of the founder of the empire was ended, and that the reigning Smerdis, (the *Magus*,) who personated a son of Cyrus, was an impostor. Darius and six Persian nobles, after they had destroyed the *Magus*, agreed that the throne, now entirely vacant, should be filled by one of themselves; and that, when they had assembled on the following morning, he whose horse first neighed should be saluted king; a mode of election which might be intended as an appeal to the influence of the sun. The artifice of the servant of Darius, by which he caused his master's horse to neigh in the moment of arriving at the appointed place, need not be related;

for the story is trite in Rome even with the grooms.

The execrable traitor, Bagoas, sometime after he had raised Darius, the contemporary of Alexander, to the throne, prepared to poison him *also:* but the Persian monarch discovered this last perfidy of Bagoas, and forced him to destroy his own life, by drinking the cup which he had offered to the king.

Under Cyrus and his successors the Persian affairs had flourished for a space of nearly two hundred and thirty years; advancing in a tenor of equable prosperity, while the body of the nation, unacquainted with voluptuous refinements, persevered in seeking wealth by useful labour, or fought gallantly for liberty and glory. In the course of time, when they had reaped, and after they had amassed a store of the fruits of virtue, they discontinued the cultivation of it, owing their safety less to their own bravery, than to the reputation which had devolved upon them through the vigor of their ancestors: in their declining state, they had procured long respites from invasion by the lavish distribution of money, a resource which had often succeeded against the Greeks when they could not rely upon their arms.

When, a short time previous to the present conjuncture, they had found that their gold was

ineffectually opposed to the politic and martial PHILIP*, and that on the obstruction and derangement of this piece of machinery, they had to depend upon their own efforts, so debauched were their minds, their resolution so unnerved by effeminate habits, that they could not support themselves under the first shock of declining fortune. Penury, though a rugged attendant, commonly stimulates ingenuity and effort: Luxury, the courtly parasite of affluence, frequently diffuses languor and imbecility over both body and mind. At the end of Philip's reign, his preparations, and his name, had agitated the Persians with terror; when the unworthy descendants of the conquerors of Babylon heard of Philip's sudden death, their alarm and awe were succeeded by contempt for Alexander's youth; they imagined that the new king would be satisfied, if he were suffered to walk up and down Pella unmolested. But receiving, day after day, intelligence of his campaigns and victories, they began to dread the juvenile commander whom they had despised; and accordingly, with extreme solicitude, made preparations to encounter a fierce and decisive, or

* As these reflections are not purely argumentative, but are interspersed with allusions to the history of the period, the writer deems it necessary to intimate, that he has not implicitly followed Freinshemius.

support a protracted war. Taught by experience in former struggles, that the Asiatic troops were inferior to the European, they dispersed over Greece agents commissioned to hire into the Persian service fifty thousand of the finest of the Grecian youth. Of this large body of mercenaries the command was entrusted to Memnon the Rhodian, whose approved fidelity and bravery recommended him to the Persian government. Memnon was ordered to make himself master of Cyzicus. Marching diligently thither through that part of Phrygia which adjoins the *Troad*, or the territory of ancient Troy, he came to mount Ida, a place distinguished in the writings of natural historians, and immortalized by the poets. Its *name* is derived from an agreeable feature in its scenery, for the ancients were accustomed to bestow the appellation *Ida* on any place richly planted with trees. This mountain pierces the clouds with a loftier summit than any other in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont. Midway up it, there is a cave, celebrated with religious veneration in the hymns of the Greeks; it is said to have been the sequestered haunt in which the Trojan arbiter of the beauty of the rival goddesses compared their unveiled charms; and to have been the birth-place of the Idean Dactyles, who, by the instruction of Cybele, or the Great Mother,

discovered the uses of iron,—as beneficial in the service of labour and art, as pernicious when the instrument of the hateful passions. The mountain is reported to be the seat of extraordinary phenomena: at the rise of the dog-star its base is ruffled by boisterous winds,—while on the summit the air is serene, and inspires serenity: A still more remarkable peculiarity is, that while night yet hovers over a great part of the earth, the sun is visible from mount Ida, not in the form of a globe, but greatly expanded, and apparently divided into distinct bodies of fire, embracing both sides of the mountain, till they meet in one on the eastern side, by the gradual reünion of the particles of light: at the approach of dawn its dimensions do not exceed an acre; and soon afterwards, having recovered, by gentle contractions, its accustomed size and figure, it proceeds on its appointed course. To venture my own opinion of this phenomenon, I attribute it to an optical delusion, of which, a local mass of air, condensed and rendered impellucid by the nocturnal cold, is the medium and the cause; and till the nebulous vapours are dissipated by a current of wind, or dissolved by a flood of heat, the image of the rising sun, seen through them, appears imperfect and dilated; for innumerable rays meeting with congealed obstructions in the aërial fluid, shoot in

new directions with augmented brightness, as reflected from a mirror: but as soon as the atmosphere, restored to a transparent state, allows the beams of day to be transmitted freely, the sun assumes his ordinary appearance.

The territory of Cyzicus reaches from the foot of mount Ida to the Propontis. The town is seated on an island of moderate extent, communicating with the continent by two bridges. These were thrown over the channel by Alexander, sometime after the expedition of Memnon: that general carried his mercenary Greeks over in ships. By his unexpected inroad he did not intimidate the Cyzicenians into submission; the inhabitants of the town made a vigorous defence: The Persian partisan was forced to retire; but he carried off a considerable booty from the surrounding country.

During the same interval the Macedonian generals were not inactive. Parmenio took Grynium, a town in Æolia, and consigned the inhabitants to slavery. Afterwards having passed over the Caicus, he besieged the strong and opulent Pitane: that city had two ports conveniently open to relief from Europe; and the seasonable arrival of Memnon to succour the place, obliged Parmenio to raise the siege.

Calas, with a small body of Macedonians, assisted by a considerable mercenary force, in-

vaded the Troad; where, in a rencounter with the Persians, he found his limited army unequal to a contest with their multitudes. He retired to Rhœtium.

CHAP. II.

Alexander convinces Antipater and Parmenio of the expediency of an immediate invasion of Persia. The preparations are completed. Public festivities.

IN the meantime, Alexander, who, on the settlement of the affairs of Greece, had returned to Macedon, was deliberating with his ministers respecting the arrangements and transactions necessary to be put in train, or matured, previously to entering upon so difficult a war. Antipater and Parmenio, whom talents and experience and consideration in the state qualified to be his leading advisers, urgently entreated, 'That he would forbear to expose the welfare 'of the empire, while that should continue to 'rest on the life of an individual, to the con-'tingencies of perfidious fortune.' They recommended, 'That he should, in the first place, 'marry, in order to raise heirs to his greatness,

'and that when this necessary foundation for 'the tranquillity and security of the country 'was laid, efforts to enlarge his dominions 'would be well-timed.'

There was not surviving any inheritor of Philip's blood, besides Alexander, that was worthy of the empire; Olympias had destroyed all Cleopatra's issue; and Aridæus, on account of the abject extraction of his mother, and the frailty of his intellect, was regarded as a person that would sully the splendour of the Macedonian throne. Alexander, however, impatient to distinguish himself, would entertain no proposals which were not directed to war, and the glory which results from victory: wherefore, he thus replied to the peaceable suggestions of his counsellors: "Like men of probity, "and patriots, you anxiously weigh the differ- "ent bearings of an enterprize, which may "greatly benefit or depress your country. It "cannot be denied, that the task which we are "undertaking is arduous; nor that, if we en- "gage in it rashly, and the event should be ad- "verse, a late repentance can afford no remedy. "For before we unfurl our sails to the wind, it "remains with us to deliberate whether we "will pursue fortune and our voyage, or re- "main in harbour; but when we have once "committed ourselves to the winds and waves,

" our success must depend on their fluctua-
" tions. I therefore have listened without dis-
" approbation to your opinion, though it is at
" variance with my decision: I commend your
" sincerity, and I entreat that you will, in our
" future subjects of debate, always use the same
" plainness. If there be any worthy of the title
" of the FRIENDS OF THE KING, they are those
" who in their advice do not so much consider
" how to procure his favour, as how to promote
" his interest and glory. The counsellor who
" recommends a course different from what he
" would take himself, does not assist to form a
" decision, but deludes.

" To unfold to you the reasons urging me
" to immediate action,—I am convinced that
" nothing will less conduce to promote the suc-
" cess of my arms, than delay. What! having
" chastised all the Barbarians round the fron-
" tiers of Macedonia, and having allayed the
" commotions and secured the alliance of
" Greece, shall we suffer a brave and victori-
" ous army to melt away in idleness? Shall we
" not rather lead our soldiers into the rich pro-
" vinces of Asia, possessions already seized by
" their desires and their hopes; with swift an-
" ticipation, they rifle Persia, as a reward for
" their long services and brilliant exploits under

" our father, and for their three years of toil and
" enterprize since.

" Darius, so recently seated on the Persian
" throne, has, by destroying Bagoas, by whom
" he was elevated to the sovereignty, excited
" in his people a suspicion of his being both
" cruel and ungrateful, vicious qualities which
" must generate, in the best subjects, aversion
" from their rulers, and render them indisposed
" to obedience, if not openly refractory. Shall
" we sit supine till he has established his au-
" thority, and having secured the internal peace
" of his kingdom, shall transfer the war into the
" heart of Macedon? The great advantages to
" be reaped by celerity, will, if we remain inac-
" tive, redound to the enemy.

" The first hold on the inclination of po-
" tentates who are third parties, is of great mo-
" ment in affairs of this nature; and *that* awaits
" the power who is active enough to seize it:
" for no state is backward to court the most
" formidable; but he will be reputed the most
" formidable who inflicts the blow of invasion,
" not he who receives it. Besides, how will
" our character be sullied, if we disappoint the
" hopes of the Greeks, who, notwithstanding
" our youth, have awarded us that honour,
" which that great commander, our father, en-

" circled by multiplied trophies, gained by ex-
" traordinary qualities, did not receive till a
" short time before his death! Nor did the
" council of the Amphictyons decree us the so-
" vereign command, in order that we might, in
" our palace at Pella, sink into indolence and
" pleasure, unmoved at the affronts formerly
" and recently offered to the Grecian name;
" but that we should severely revenge injuries
" perpetrated against us, in the height of Per-
" sian arrogance and wickedness. What shall
" I say of the Greek colonies, which, diffused
" over Asia, labour under a calamitous servi-
" tude imposed upon them by the licentious
" Barbarians? You, my friends, heard the en-
" treaties and arguments with which Dius* the
" Ephesian lately pleaded their cause. As soon
" as the Asiatic Greeks see our standard, they
" will rally round it, eagerly braving whatever
" danger may attend the enterprize of uniting
" with their champions and deliverers against
" the Persian tyrant and his satraps.

" But why, as if equally forgetful of the
" character of ourselves and of our enemies,
" should we look around for assistance in
" making war upon a people whom to conquer
" by degrees, and not at one decisive stroke,

* *Delius.* FREINS. *Dius.* OLIV. lib. xvi. p. 397.

" would reflect disgrace upon us rather than
" glory? In the preceding age, a small body of
" Lacædemonians advancing into Asia, found
" no effective opposition from the immense ar-
" mies of the enemy; the Persians either quiet-
" ly suffering Phrygia, Lydia, and Paphlagonia,
" to be overrun and plundered, or meeting,
" when they resisted, defeat and slaughter,
" even to the satiety of the invaders: till the
" recal of Agesilaus with his troops, on account
" of some commotions in Greece, gave to the
" trembling Asiatics, at a moment when they
" were too distracted to use their resources,
" time to recover from their consummate ter-
" ror. You know, that a few years before the
" Spartan expedition, ten thousand Greeks,
" without leaders, and without provisions,
" opened with the sword a passage into their
" own country, from the interior of the Per-
" sian empire, through a line of nations armed
" to annoy them, in addition to the whole army
" of Artaxerxes, which, when the Greeks com-
" menced their retreat, had surrounded them;
" and which, pursuing or intercepting them
" during a great proportion of their march,
" were defeated and put to flight as often as
" the Greeks were forced to engage. Shall we,
" then, who have vanquished the whole of
" Greece, who have disciplined it to our ser-

" vice by so many victories, who command " the bravest of her surviving soldiers in our " camps; shall we shrink from a war with " Asia, after having conquered the illustrious " nation of Greece, of which a province could " send out a force able to inflict on Asia such a " series of shameful defeats?"

These arguments of Alexander, interspersed with others to the same effect, so convinced his ministers and generals, that they were won decidedly to his opinion. Even Parmenio, who had been the strongest advocate for postponing, perceived the necessity of accelerating, the war, and exhorted Alexander not to tolerate any delay in the officers who were to conduct the preparations. The king's whole mind was now occupied by arrangements for invading Persia.

Having every thing matured, he, at Dium, a city of Macedonia, offered a splendid course of sacrifices to Jupiter Olympius, conforming in this solemnity to an institution of king Archelaus, who succeeded Perdiccas, the son of Alexander. In honour of the Muses, as the disposers of fame, the leader of the Greeks and Macedonians next exhibited theatrical spectacles, which continued nine days. He concluded these festivities by a magnificent banquet, to his friends, his generals, and the Hellenic deputies, given in a tent which contained a hundred couches: at

the same time, feasting his soldiers in a body, he ordered, with other viands, part of the victims offered in the sacrifices to be distributed among them, that this day, which was dedicated to enjoyment, might be gratefully marked by auspicious omens of the approaching war.

CHAP. III.

Force of the army which Alexander conducted into Asia: and of that which he left with Antipater in Macedon. He distributes his riches among his friends. State of the public treasury. Course of the fleet and army from the lake Cercinites to Sestos. The king detaches Parmenio to Abydos; visits Eleus; sails to Sigeum.

AT the commencement of the spring, Alexander passed with his collected forces into Asia. His army was formidable by its discipline and valour, rather than by its numbers. The advanced guard, under Cassander, consisted of nine hundred Thracians and Pæonians*. The main body, which was commanded by Parmenio, consisted of thirty thousand infantry:

* Freins. transposit.

of whom thirteen thousand were Macedonians; twelve thousand, confederated Greeks; and five thousand, mercenaries. In the rear of the regular infantry, followed five thousand Illyrians, Thracians, and Triballi; with one thousand Agrian archers. The whole cavalry attached to the army amounted to four thousand two hundred: comprising one thousand eight hundred Macedonians, led by Philotas; as many Thessalians, under the orders of Calas; and six hundred confederated Greeks, over whom the king had placed Erigyus.

With this army, transporting with it provision only for thirty days, Alexander hesitated not to march against an infinite number of Barbarians; relying on the martial character of his men, veterans long familiar with conquest, possessing that vigor, courage, attention to their commanders, and superior management of their weapons, which rendered them more than a counterpoise to any armed multitude, however numerous.

To Antipater, with whom the king left twelve thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry, he entrusted the government of Macedon, and the management of Greece; and he enjoined his lieutenant to let the levy of recruits in Europe be constantly proceeding, in order to sustain the numerical strength of the

foreign and domestic army, against the attenuations of battle and the waste of mortality.

Before he had embarked his forces, Alexander distributed among his immediate friends the property which belonged to him as an individual; without retaining any possession or resource which he could alienate without injury to the regal dignity or the public service. Perdiccas declined accepting a princely gift of land, begging Alexander to inform him, 'What he 'would have left for himself?' The king answered: "Hopes." Perdiccas rejoined: "We shall "be satisfied to partake of *them*, fighting under "your auspices." A small number of commanders imitated the example of Perdiccas; it did not influence the majority. Afterwards, Alexander was asked: "Where, O king! have "you any treasures?" He replied: "In the "hands of my friends." When it is considered, that he was staking empire and existence upon one cast of fortune's die,—without attributing to him selfish motives, he may be justified to the selfish, as not having absurdly disposed of his riches; for, by victory, he would acquire treasures incomparably greater;—defeat would force him to resign what he had, less gracefully; meanwhile, he had engaged the cheerful attachment of his officers: nor could

any immediate inconvenience attend the gift of farms and estates from which no revenue would be remitted till a remote day.

The money belonging to the state the king set-apart for the service of the war, and he dispensed it with economy proportioned to the smallness of the store. When Philip died, the treasures in the publick coffers scarcely amounted to sixty talents of coined money, with a few vases of silver and gold: whereas the debts due from the government were nearly five hundred talents. Notwithstanding the late king had greatly augmented the revenue of Macedon, and so improved the mines at Philippi *, that they yielded annually a thousand talents; yet from the draining effect of successive wars, the magnificent presents which it was a branch of his policy to make, and the expensive works and edifices which he repaired, restored, or founded, he left the publick treasury quite exhausted. The anecdote of the cup † forcibly illustrates how very trivial were the funds which Philip had inherited: yet his son—after having augmented the public debt by taking up on loan eight hundred talents, of which scarcely a tenth part remained undisbursed—now challenges and provokes to the field the whole force

* Ante, p. 43. † Ante, p. 42.

of the king of Persia, who had five thousand talents of gold as for a pillow, and three thousand talents of silver as for a footstool, deposited in cabinets under the head and foot of his bed. Of the Persian empire, the revenue paid in money* was estimated at fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Eubœic talents; [£3,276,000;] the taxes paid in kind cannot now be estimated †.

Alexander's navy and transports lay in the lake Cercinites, so named from the neighbouring mountain. While the line of march to Persia being crossed by the sea, made it indispensable —the maritime cities to be besieged, made it eligible—to have a fleet attendant on the invading army; besides, at several places on the way to the Hellespont circuitous marches might

* Justin, lib. xiii. 1.

† Converted into money, or consumed as they were delivered, the contributions from different districts were charged to supply particular branches of expenditure. Thus, was furnished the king's wardrobe, the furniture of his palaces, and viands for the court and household. Passages in Cicero [in Verrem, 3 B. c. 23.] and Plato [Alcib. 1. P. 123.] show plainly, that the kings of Persia were accustomed to give particular cities to their queens to find them in girdles; others, to find them in necklaces; others, in shoes. From every author who has treated of the affairs of Persia, it further appears, that the monarch assigned to individuals whom he was desirous to honour, particular cities to find them in bread—, wine—, meat—, fish—. In this manner Artaxerxes entertained and distinguished Themistocles, as we learn from Plutarch and Thucydides.

be avoided by embarking the troops on a short passage.

Alexander set sail from the lake Cercinites to the sound of flutes, in a concert led by Timotheus; his troops expressing the highest ardour, confident of seizing the riches of the Barbarians. In this manner the king was wafted across the lake, and down the course of the Strymon. After having touched at Amphipolis, he proceeded to the mouth of the river. Having debarked on the Eastern bank, he passed on the side of mount Pangæus, and entered the road which leads to Abdera and Maronea. The Macedonian leader marched close to the winding shore, to be at hand to assist his fleet, which sailed a parallel course, should the enemy attack it. The Persian monarch possessed or directed a powerful navy, including ships from Cyprus and Phœnicia, manned with expert rowers and mariners inured to the sea. Macedon, having but lately become a naval power, did not abound with ships; and the allies had furnished vessels scantily and reluctantly. Even the Athenians, when applied to for their quota of gallies, [triremes,] sent but twenty; their orators dissuading them from entrusting a great proportion of their navy with Alexander, lest it should be directed against themselves.

From Maronea the king marched to the river Hebrus; having gained its Eastern bank with-

out much difficulty, he advanced to Pætica, a province of Thrace. Thence having proceeded over the river Melas, he on the twentieth day from moving on the expedition, reached Sestos, a town of the Chersonesus, at the extremity of the European continent, and overlooking the Hellespont.

Here, the coast of Thrace nearly touches Asia as it does towards the South-East at the Thracian Bosphorus. The Propontis, compressed at each end, greatly expands near the coast of Bythinia. Below Bythinia lie Phrygia and Mysia; adjoining those, but remote from the Propontis and the Ægean, is ancient Lydia. The interior regions of Asia, [Asia Minor,] extensive, and celebrated for fertile tracts and opulent cities, are inhabited by various nations. The western coast at the upper part facing Thrace, is possessed by the Hellespontians; contiguous is the ruined seat of the Trojans, universally known by their misfortunes. Beneath these, Æolis and Ionia occupy, on one side, a long meandering line of shore; and are bounded, on the other, by Lydia. More southward are the countries of Caria and Doris, of which the inland tracts are extensive, notwithstanding both countries, with their peninsular arms, are nearly embraced by the sea. Westward, are the noble islands, Æolic Lesbos, Ionian Chius and Samos, and Doric Rhodus, with several others ce-

lebrated by the Greek writers. The populous colonies of the Greeks on this coast subsist at this day, though even in Alexander's time they had lost their ancient liberty, having become subject to the king of Persia and his satraps.

From Sestos the Macedonian leader detached the greater part of his army to Abydos on the opposite shore, under the conduct of Parmenio, with whom he left one hundred and sixty gallies, and several transports. The king proceeded with the remainder of the troops to Eleus, at which place was still preserved the tomb dedicated to the memory of Protesilaus, buried there during the Trojan war. The tomb was encircled by a grove of elms, celebrated, in the heroics of Philostratus, for two astonishing deviations from the laws of vegetation; on those branches which grow towards Ilium, leaves spring every morning, and immediately fall off, while the opposite arms of the tree are clothed with ever-green foliage; the leaves prematurely deciduous are imagined to be emblematic of the fate of the hero, who, in the Dardanian expedition of the Greeks, fell, in the flower of his age, the first victim of that war. Alexander offered sacrifices for the dead: and implored heaven to grant him better fortune when he should land on the hostile shore. From Eleus he sailed to Sigeum, a haven famous by having sheltered the fleet of Agamemnon.

In the middle of the Hellespont, Alexander, who acted as pilot of his own ship, sacrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereids; the golden cup from which he had poured the libation he deposited in the sea, as an extraordinary offering to the marine deities. When the fleet had entered the harbour, the king discharged a dart upon the shore, and, leaping from the ship, was the first that landed; declaring, 'That he 'proposed, with the assistance of the gods in a 'just war, to become sovereign of Asia.' He afterwards erected altars to Jupiter, Minerva, and Hercules, at the place of his descent; and he caused similar memorials to be built in Europe on the point of coast whence he had last sailed.

CHAP. IV.

Deportment of Alexander in the Troad. Description of his arms. Junction with Parmenio at Arisbe. March of the army to the Lampsacenian territory. Amyntas detached for intelligence. Deliberations of the Persian generals. Arrogance of the Persian king.

ALEXANDER now proceeded to the level country, and surveyed the seat of ancient Troy. While he was contemplating some monuments

of heroic exploits, one of the inhabitants promised him the harp of Paris, to whom he made this reply: "I do not prize that sordid instrument of effeminate amusement: but I should "eagerly seize the lyre on which Achilles "struck the praises of illustrious heroes, with "the hand which surpassed their achievements." Alexander felt it as a trait of glory to be a descendant of Achilles. His enthusiastic or superstitious veneration led him, with his friends, to walk, naked, in procession round the tomb of the Grecian hero, anointing it, and adorning it with a crown. Hephæstion placed a crown upon the tomb of Patroclus, intimating that he held the same rank in the friendship of Alexander, as Patroclus held in that of Achilles. Among the observations which fell from the king, this is preserved: "I regard Achilles as "doubly happy; because, living, he found a "faithful friend; and, when dead, a poet who "has immortalized his actions." To the other Hellenic heroes, whose sepulchres on the Dardanian territory are still pointed out to the traveller, Alexander solemnized funeral obsequies. He offered a sacrifice to Priam, on the altar of Hercius, either to appease the manes of the venerable father of Hector, in slaying whom, Neoptolemus had violated the sanctity of an altar; or, to give honour to his memory on ac-

count of the affinity which had been created between the house of Macedon and the royal line of Ilium, by the marriage of Neoptolemus with Hector's widow.

If the scenery reminded Alexander, that the destruction of Troy could not be effected till the palladium was removed,—this tended to heighten his awe of Minerva. After sacrificing with great devotion in her temple, he there deposited his arms; taking, in exchange, arms which had hung there from the time of the Trojan war. These he caused to be borne before him, as though he had received them, by the favour of the goddess, to conquer Asia; and he is represented to have actually worn them at the battle of the Granicus. On *other* occasions, he appeared to prize costly armour; in nothing more solicitous to find workmen of unrivalled excellence. His ordinary buckler was splendid. His iron helmet, polished by the artificer Theophilus to dazzling brightness, was surmounted by a lofty, elegant crest, of which the nodding plumes were remarkable for the purity of their white lustre. His corslet was formed of double layers of linen: with an iron collar enriched by sparkling gems. From a belt wrought by the incomparable Helicon, hung a sword famed both for edge and temper; and its value was augmented by the union of strength and infragi-

lity with a lightness easy to wield. Over this armour he sometimes wore a close military coat of that fashion and fabric then styled Sicilian. Of these arms several articles came into his possession at times subsequent to the period which the narrative has reached, as presents or trophies: the corslet was part of the spoil from the battle of Issus: the sword was a gift of the king of the Citici, a people of Cyprus: the Rhodians, as the symbol of their homage, contributed the belt. These particulars have been admitted into the works of ancient authors, possibly because there can scarcely be any thing, in the sayings, or the manners, or the actions, of the first order of illustrious men, so minute, as not to amuse, or instruct, or excite useful reflection. The arms of Alexander have been objects of veneration in succeeding ages; and Time, the general destroyer, long spared them, as from respect. One of our commanders, after the conquest of the Pontic provinces, wore Alexander's military coat at a triumphal procession in Rome. Another Roman general, habited in the corslet of the Macedonian victor, traversed the bridge, which, in imitation of Darius and Xerxes, he had built over the sea.

From the temple of Minerva, Alexander marched to Arisbe, where the Macedonians under Parmenio were encamped.

On the following day, he passed the towns Percote and Lampsacus, and arrived on the banks of the Practius, which, from the Idean mountains, flows through the territories of Lampsacus and Abydos, and, winding northward, empties itself into the Propontis. Thence, leaving Hermotus on one side, he marched to Colonæ, a town seated in the heart of the Lampsacenian territory. Having received all those places into his protection, and pardoned the inhabitants of Lampsacus *, he sent Panegorus to accept the surrender, and take possession of the city of the Priapeni.

At this stage of the expedition, Alexander detached Amyntas, the son of Arrabæus, with four troops, (one of them consisting of Apolloniates under the command of Socrates,) to advance and observe the motions, or gain intelligence, of the enemy.

The enemy lay in a position not greatly distant; and were exerting themselves with solicitude to discover and complete the proper train of defensive measures against the approaching war: but the question, Whether the attack could be more effectively repelled by force, or eluded by policy, distracted their counsels. Memnon, by far the most competent of their generals, recommended a course not unlike that

* Ante, p. 29.

since taken by our own Fabius: "Let us de-
" stroy every thing, in every direction, that
" can be of any use to the enemy, and retire
" farther into the country; let us trample on,
" and waste the grass with our cavalry; let us
" burn the villages and towns, and leave in our
" rear a naked desert. The Macedonians, who
" have brought scarcely a month's provision,
" confide on living by plunder: now if their
" subsistence by that means be prevented, they
" must, after a short interval, retreat; and the
" whole of Asia will be saved at a comparatively
" small expense. It is true the necessity for
" this partial sacrifice is to be deplored: but on
" all occasions where danger pregnant with to-
" tal destruction is impending, the wise cheer-
" fully deliver themselves from the tremendous
" risk by submitting to a small loss. Thus if
" a limb of the human body be seized with a
" morbid inflammation, which, spreading, would
" destroy the whole frame, physicians amputate
" the limb to preserve the body. And we are
" encouraged to do this by a successful prece-
" dent; for Darius formerly caused these pro-
" vinces to be devastated, lest the Scythians
" should effect a passage through them. A
" battle with the Macedonians, at this time,
" will expose the whole empire to hazard:

" should we be defeated, Alexander will gain " this entire region, and a road to the interior " provinces; should victory attend the Persian " arms, we shall remain merely as we are, we " shall reap nothing. There is cause to appre- " hend, that the infantry already with us, is of " that description, that though much more nu- " merous, it will not be able to resist the Ma- " cedonian phalanx. Besides, the presence of " Darius, if we wait for it, will contribute, in " no slight degree, to victory, since the soldi- " ers, conscious that their monarch is fighting " with them, and surveying their actions, will " feel at once the stimulations of hope, shame, " and the desire of glory; advantages which " the Macedonians at this moment possess. " Besides, no one can doubt that it is eligible " to carry the war into the enemy's territory, " rather than suffer our own country to be the " seat of conflict. Now, if we retreat in the " manner which I have proposed,—the enemy, " unable to pursue, will leave us leisure to plan " the invasion of Macedon."

These views of Memnon the other Persian generals scarcely examined. They abruptly terminated the deliberations, concurring in remarks to this effect: ' That to create a little delay by ' waste and destruction might answer the pur-

'pose of Memnon, the *Rhodian**, who would 'derive a benefit from protracting the war, the 'benefit of enjoying his offices and emoluments 'proportionally longer: but that it would be 'an indelible disgrace to Persian governors to 'betray the people who had been confided to 'their protection: nor could they justify such 'conduct to the king, whose instructions to 'them prescribed far different operations in 'prosecuting the war.' Indeed Darius, on being informed of Alexander's departure from Macedon, had, in the dispatches to his satraps, commanded them: "To impress on the mind "of that rash boy of Philip's a due sense of his "years and station, by flogging him: then to "send him to Darius habited in purple and "bound in chains: to sink all his ships with "their crews: and to drive his soldiers to ba-"nishment on the remote borders of the Red "Sea." So confident of the future did the illusions of unbounded pride make the Persian monarch. Ignorant of his destiny, no longer feeling that he shared in human weakness, he pretended to have affinity with the gods. The last illusion sprung rather from the near ap-

* We cannot suppose that the *uncourtly* parts of these animadversions were urged in open council; but were suspicions against the motives of Memnon, which the jealous princes whispered to each other.

proach which he seemed to make to them in power, than from any reliance on the ancient fable which derived the name of Persia, and the lineage of its kings, from Perseus the son of Jupiter.

Not long previously, Darius had addressed to the Athenians letters in a style equally arrogant, with this insulting conclusion, 'That 'since they had preferred the friendship of the 'Macedonian to his, they must not, for the fu- 'ture, apply to him for gold; for however they 'should beg, he would send them none.'

CHAP. V.

Alexander spares the estate of Memnon. Alters the name of a month. Stoops to practise on the superstition of his soldiers. The battle of the Granicus. Deportment of the king after the victory. Dedicates part of the spoil in Minerva's temple at Athens.

HAVING prosecuted his march, Alexander now touched the hither boundary of that tract of land which the king of Persia had bestowed on Memnon: but before he passed this demesne, he, in general orders, enjoined the Macedonian captains and army, neither to injure the tenants

of Memnon, nor the produce of the soil; an artifice by which he designed either to render suspected the most active of the enemy's generals, and the only officer among them whom he did not despise, or to draw him over to his interest. This forbearance of Alexander astonished some of his attendants, who felt no scruple to urge, that as Memnon was the most inveterate as well as the ablest antagonist of the Macedonians, it behoved them to execute him, if he should fall into their hands, and that in the meantime they ought to spoil and destroy whatever belonged to him. "Rather," replies their leader, more politic, if not more humane, "let us win him by "good offices, from an enemy converting him "to a friend; he will then exert his courage "and talents to serve us."

In ordinary cases, the Macedonian phalanx, which had sixteen ranks, marched from its flank, which made its marching front sixteen files wide. Having reached the Adrastean plains, it now marched from its flank in double columns, or thirty-two files wide, with an interstice between the columns; the cavalry on the wings; the waggons and baggage in the rear. Scouts had before brought intelligence, that the enemy intended to make a stand on the Granicus; and now the advanced guard—consisting of horsemen armed with pikes, and five hundred

light infantry *—who had been detached to examine the fords, and observe the enemy, returned with intelligence, that the Persians occupied an advantageous position on the other side of the Granicus, and were in order of battle, —waiting to receive the invaders. The king halted, and called a council of war on the propriety of leading the army over to attack the enemy. A majority of his generals represented, 'That it was a rash attempt, and an impracticable thing, to stem the current of that deep river in the presence of twenty thousand horse and innumerable foot guarding the opposite lofty bank, naturally difficult of access.' Other individuals diffused and countenanced timidity, by suggesting, 'That it was then the month of Desius, [corresponding to June,] which, it might be recollected, had always been unfortunate to the Macedonians.' Alexander, though he could not perceive the danger, forbore to outrage the superstition, which had raised among his followers so many advocates of delay; convinced that superstition has a sovereign influence over weak minds. He, therefore, by an edict, expunged Desius from the Macedonian tables of time, substituting a repetition of the name of the preceding month,

* Gillies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.

with an explanatory ordinal, *Artemisius the second.* And to restore the confidence of those who had been alarmed, he covertly instructed Aristander, whose office it was to sacrifice for a prosperous passage, to write, with a chemical colour, a fortunate sentence on the palm of the hand, which receives the entrails; inverting the characters, that, dissolved by the warm liver, they might be imprinted on its surface in the proper order. By this coarse artifice, unworthy of the king, the detection of which might have disconcerted him for ever, was obtained the answer: "The gods give the victory to Alex-"ander." This supposed miracle being circulated through the camp, the soldiers unanimously burst into loud acclamations: "After "such a proof of the celestial favour, what can "we fear?" Considering themselves predestined to conquer, they felt themselves adequate to take success by storm.

Availing himself of the impetuous ardour of their minds, the king determined immediately to lead them over, notwithstanding Parmenio advised and entreated him to defer it, at least till the morning, as great part of the day was consumed: but Alexander said to his cautious general, in a style of raillery: "The Hellespont "will blush, if, after passing that, we want so "much preparation to cross a brook."

The leader of the Greeks and Macedonians sprung on his horse. Under his dispositions, the whole army opened, and spread along the bank of the river in order of battle: the phalanx, essentially the main-body, divided into eight sections, stood in the centre; the Macedonian cavalry formed the right wing; the Grecian, the left. Alexander assumed in person the command of the right wing, confiding the left and centre to Parmenio. Either he considered that the breadth of the river would render his military engines, the balistas and catapults *, unavailing, or he disdained to employ them, in the hope of soon closing with the enemy.

Olymp. cxi. 3. *A. C.* 334. *Ætat. Alex.* 22.

Alexander has now completed his orders; the two armies behold each other in portentous silence; this solemn pause is interrupted by the Macedonian trumpets resounding throughout the line. On this signal, Ptolemy, the son of Philip by Arsinoe, began to ford the river, at the head of a squadron of *Cataphracts* †, followed by two bodies of light dragoons, and a battalion of infantry commanded by Amyntas.

* See, ante, p. 138.

† Cavalry completely covered with defensive armour. *Cuirassiers* is the modern term which most nearly answers to *Cataphracts*. See Gillies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.

More to the right, Alexander advanced, at the same moment, under a shower of arrows from the enemy, with thirteen troops of chosen cavalry, attended by a covering party of archers and Agrians. They with difficulty effected their way through the conflicting waves, and across the heavy stream. Before the king could obtain firm footing on the shore, or restore to order the ranks broken in their passage, he was charged on all sides by the Persian cavalry. The sharpness of the battle may be estimated by the amount of the hostile forces.

When the native generals of the enemy—rejecting Memnon's counsel; and adopting the declaration of Arsites, governor of Phrygia, that not a hut should be burnt within his jurisdiction—resolved to fight; they posted their army, consisting of one hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, along the Granicus, relying on the river as a bulwark against the progress of Alexander. This was their order of battle: Against the Macedonian right-wing, which they perceived to be directed by Alexander in person, they opposed their native cavalry, their chief reliance; manœuvred by Memnon and his sons, in conjunction with Arsanes the Persian, and supported by the auxiliary Paphlagonian horse under Arsites. A reserve to this left-wing, consisting partly of the Hyrcanian

cavalry, was commanded by Spithridates, son-in-law to the Persian monarch, associated with his brother Rhæsaces, governor of Libya and Ionia. The main-body * of the foot, which included the Greek mercenaries, was directed by Pharnaces, brother of the queen; by Arbupales, a descendant of Artaxerxes; and by Mithrobarzanes, governor of Cappadocia. Farther to the right, Niphates and Petanes, with Arsaces and Atizyes, commanded levies from various nations which were Persian provinces. On the right flank stood two thousand Medes, and an equal number of Bactrians, under the orders of Rheomithres.

The enemy, having a decided superiority of numbers and the advantage of position, had destroyed, or driven back into the river, the first lines of horse led by Ptolemy. Alexander, regarding an opportunity of combating as the same thing with victory, rallied those troops, and maintained his ground on the bank. The battle was close and sanguinary. Conspicuous by his arms, by his bravery, and by the rapidity with which he traversed the field to give orders, he was sought out and pressed by a cloud of assailants. In the heat of this complex rencounter, a dart, levelled at the king, stuck in a fold

* Freins. transposit. et per inductionem.

of the lower part of his armour, without wounding him. Now, Rhæsaces and Spithridates, two of the boldest among the Persian commanders, assailed him together. Alexander launched his spear against Spithridates, whose breast-plate repelled and broke it. While he was drawing his sword, the brother of Spithridates, riding up, with a powerful swing of his scimitar, cleft the helmet of Alexander, whose hair was grazed by the weapon. Part of the helmet falling, the Persian was preparing to repeat the blow on the unprotected part of the head, thus laid bare; at this moment, Clitus, who, on perceiving the imminent danger of Alexander, had sprung to his aid, cut off the uplifted arm of Rhæsaces, which fell with the grasped sword to the ground. At the same instant, the sword of Alexander slew Spithridates.

Down to the last files of the Persian horse, the Macedonians, charging through the interstices in the ranks, now carried carnage. But the mighty range of Persian squadrons, like the columns of a magnificent temple in ruins, were yet too firm to be easily removed, and too numerous not to present to the eye grand masses and extensive lines. The enemy's cavalry continued to resist Alexander's, with gallant obstinacy, long after the slaughter of the greater

part of their generals had thrown them into disorder, till at length their consternation is rendered complete by the approach of the Macedonian phalanx, which had crossed the river, led by Parmenio. The Barbarian cavalry now lost all their firmness; in their precipitate flight, a thousand were overtaken and slain.

The Persian foot had imagined, that their horse, exclusively, was abundantly competent to defeat Alexander; and had prepared for plunder, rather than defence: having unexpectedly to sustain the shock of the whole Macedonian army, they presented a feeble countenance; and fell, uncontending victims, not in a fight, but a butchery.

The Greek infantry, however, in the Persian service, under the command of Omares, having seized an eminence, sent deputies to Alexander, to stipulate for permission to retire unmolested. When the king, in answer to this proposition, rushed upon them sword in hand, they opposed a steady and vigorous defence. In this conflict there fell more Macedonians, than in the engagement with the Persian cavalry. In a charge at the head of the most advanced, the horse which the king rode was run through the body with a sword. Then, the impetuous Macedonian, having enclosed the desperate Greeks with his ca-

valry and infantry, devoted them to the fiercest slaughter, till two thousand only were left, who surrendered at discretion.

Of the enemy, the entire number killed was twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse; the prisoners from them were nearly to the same amount. All the Persian generals, except five, died honourably, from wounds in the field. Memnon, Arsaces, Rheomithres, Atizyes, and Arsites, saved themselves by flight: but Arsites, as soon as he had reached Phrygia, perpetrated suicide, under a paroxysm of shame and remorse, conscious that he should be deservedly regarded as the cause of the defeat*.

The few men which this victory cost Alexander, were among the bravest of his soldiers. Of the foot, thirty fell; and seventy of the horse.

To diffuse through the army a confidence, that the leader of the Greeks and Macedonians would, in every event, reward and distinguish the brave,—that leader enriched all who survived the battle, with the spoils of the Persians, and magnificently interred the slain, with their arms and accoutrements; granting immunities to their wives and children. The wounded he treated with cherishing care, visiting them indi-

* Ante, p. 191, and 197.

vidually in their tents, sympathising with the most obscure soldier, and animating him under his sufferings, by commendations, by assurances of promotion, by liberal gifts. To the army, this condescension and beneficence so endeared the king, that, thenceforward, a spirit of fidelity and devotion to him, made them with alacrity encounter the fiercest perils; none betraying a reluctance to shed their blood for a leader, who alleviated the hardships of a military life with well-timed accommodations, and who planted laurel on the common soldier's grave.

In the battle, the band of the FRIENDS* surmounted trying disadvantages, under which the acclivity of the ground had placed them, at the onset; vanquishing the multitude of Persian cavalry, by whom they had been severely pressed. Of this band five and twenty individuals fell, whose memory Alexander distinguished by an eminent group of honours; an equestrian statue of each, in bronze, from the mould of Lysippus†, was erected in Dium, a town of Macedonia; whence, upon the fall of that kingdom, they have been transferred to our imperial city by Metellus.

* Eight squadrons of chosen cavalry were honoured with the name of *friends and companions* to the king.

† Ante, p. 14.

The Thessalians were the main strength of Alexander's cavalry*. On this occasion, the whole army performed its part; the cavalry, on whom the decision depended, displayed extraordinary resolution and valour; the Thessalian squadrons signalized themselves.

The first wreath of distinction, on account of the victory, is due to the king. After weighing the nature of the ground, and the attitude of the enemy, he disposed his army with consummate military skill. He led his troops through the river in an *oblique order*, both to lessen the inconvenience from the current, and to prevent them from being charged in flank, as they ascended from the water. When they were thrown into confusion, and began to waver, he animated them to "one more vigo-"rous attack." His own gallant lance and sword killed numbers of the enemy; and that division of the enemy's army, which he, with Clitus and his attendants, assailed, was the first to fly. His determination to engage, and his manner of engaging, possessed more just decision, than temerity; for having to contend with an untried enemy, far superior in number, he contrived to arm his soldiers with desperation; if the passage of the river was difficult, retreat was im-

* Freins. transposit.

possible: he left them no medium between safety and victory.

Alexander extended the *rites* of interment to the superior officers among the Persian slain, and also to the Greeks in the enemy's pay, who had fallen. But the Greek mercenaries whom he had taken prisoners, he sent to Macedon, to be distributed in the prisons there, because, in contempt of the decree of the Amphictyons, they had fought, under Barbarian leaders, against their own country. The Thebans, however, he dismissed, conceiving their offence not to be wilful, but inevitable; as their city was destroyed, their lands confiscated, and they had escaped to coerced exile barely with life; their multiplied calamities, which had sated vengeance, now awakened his commiseration.

Three hundred bucklers, selected out of the Persian arms taken, the conqueror sent to Athens, to be suspended in the temple of Minerva, with this inscription: "Alexander, the "son of Philip, and all the Greeks, the Lace-"dæmonians excepted, dedicate these spoils "won from the Barbarians who inhabit Asia." Independent of religious devotion, and a desire to have his exploits known, he had a twofold motive to this act: by extending to the Greeks a liberal share in the fame of the victory, he might bring them to a more prompt and cheer-

ful compliance with the requisitions of the war: at the same time, he affixed a stigma to the selfishness or sullenness of the Lacedæmonians, who, consulting their separate interest, had cut themselves off from the general body of the Greeks, and from a participation in the glory, which the splendid trophies taken from the Persians would perpetuate.

Not unmindful of his mother, to whom he constantly behaved with true filial duty, the king sent her the cups of gold, robes of purple, and other valuables of that description, found in the spoil; reserving for his own use but a small proportion.

CHAP. VI.

Alexander returns to Troy. Omen retrospectively noticed. The victor receives the submission of various places in Phrygia, Ionia, and other provinces. His moderation and policy. He resigns his mistress Campaspe to Apelles: Notice of doubtful anecdotes related of the artist. Alexander liberally endows the temple of Diana: The Ephesians refuse to inscribe his name upon it.

AFTER the battle, Alexander repaired a second time to Troy, and offered thanksgivings to the goddess, who had, at the trying commence-

ment of a weighty war, furnished him with arms, and animated him with auspicious presages. For when he formerly landed from the Hellespont on the Ilian shore*, there lay prostrated on the ground, in front of the temple of Minerva, an equestrian statue of Ariobarsanus, who had formerly been governor of Phrygia. Aristander, who, with the king, witnessed this, construed it into an omen of glorious victory in an equestrian engagement, in which the conqueror should, with his own hand, slay the enemy's general: but the hierophant pronounced the result to be so far conditional, that the field of battle must border on Phrygia. The action on the Granicus† countenanced the prediction.

The king made presents of imperial value to the temple of the goddess. To the village encircled by the ruins of ancient Troy, he gave the title of city; and that it might respectably support that title, he appointed officers to restore and enlarge it; and conferred on it, freedom and various immunities. And because the temple, besides being in a state of decay, appeared to Alexander too limited for the worship of Minerva, he vowed to raise to her a magnificent structure, should the future afford him op-

* Ante, p. 184. † Ante, p. 199.

portunity. Fate arrested him, while meditating this, with other great designs: nor were they executed by his successors.

The battle of the Granicus had laid open to the victor all that part of Asia which lies on this side mount Taurus and the Euphrates: Destitute, not only of a protecting army, but of satraps and leaders, the awed inhabitants of Phrygia, Ionia, and Caria, had no hopes but in the clemency of Alexander; fearfully impatient to obtain this clemency, they tendered their allegiance, like rivals in submission. The king constituted Calas, general of the Thessalonians, governor of Phrygia*. Ambassadors, bearing the homage of the contiguous mountain-tracts, were dismissed by the king, with an assurance that they were received into his protection. He pardoned the Zeliti, because he knew that the coercion of the Persians had armed them against him.

Alexander imposed on the cities and provinces thus acquired, a tribute no greater in amount than that which they had been accustomed to pay Darius; and, subsequently, he observed the same moderation with regard to every new conquest. He was sensible, that a foreign government is always regarded as an invidious

* Ante, p. 201.

intrusion, and impatiently borne, even when exercised with more lenity than the expelled domestic administration: but if to the former burdens of the subject new impositions are added, the change of masters is felt as an intolerable usurpation: wherefore, when a courtier suggested, that he might, by increasing the taxes of so large an empire, materially augment his revenue, he replied, 'That he abhorred the 'sottish avidity of a gardener, who pulled up 'by the roots those plants, which he ought to 'be contented with cropping at seasonable 'times.'

Informed that the enemy still held Dascylium, he detached thither Parmenio, whom the inhabitants eagerly received; the Persian garrison having quitted it on the approach of the Macedonians. Alexander in person proceeded to Sardis; then the capital of a chain of provinces, which the Persian kings committed to satraps governing maritime divisions of the empire; and more anciently the splendid metropolis of the unfortunate Crœsus, the last king of Lydia. Seventy stadia from the city, Mithrenes, whom Darius had made governor of the citadel, accompanied by the principal Sardian nobility, met the conqueror; and surrendered the municipal jurisdiction, and the forts, with the treasures. The Macedonian ruler restored Sardis

to its ancient privileges and laws, after it had endured, above two centuries, the oppressions of Persia.

Encamping on the river Hermus, about twenty stadia from Sardis, he sent Amyntas, the son of Andromene, to take possession of the citadel. Seated on the top of a lofty hill, on all sides difficult of access, it would have been tenable against any force, even without its walls and triple rampart. Alexander felt a high degree of satisfaction at the surrender of a fortress, which, had the officer of the enemy availed himself of its capacity to sustain a siege, might have retarded the execution of his great designs; in gratitude, he resolved to build there a temple to Jupiter Olympius. While surveying the spot, to discover the fittest station for the structure, a sudden and furious storm poured a flood of rain on that part of the area within the citadel, where anciently had stood the palace of the Lydian kings. Believing the site to be thus pointed out by heaven, he ordered the temple to be erected on this place.

Understanding that the Sardians* looked up with great devotion to Diana, whom they worshipped under the name of *Coloëne*, he made her

* Freins. transposit.

temple an asylum. He restored to the Lydians their favourite laws and institutions.

To induce the Persian officers generally to imitate the revolting disloyalty of Mithrenes, the Macedonian degraded promotions, and tainted honours, by showering them on that traitor, making him at length prefect of Armenia *.

In the citadel of Sardis † was found an account of the money which had been distributed by the satraps of Darius, to instigate the Greeks to a war with Macedon: as a central organ of circulation, Demosthenes, in particular, had been supplied with vast largesses, as appeared from some of his letters, preserved in the archives ‡. Alexander, however, having made a peace with the Athenians, by which former grounds of dispute were cancelled, did not deem it proper to complain publickly of these proceedings: but he saw it the more necessary to counteract—by vigilance, and by politic attentions—the powerful eloquence and attenuant intrigues of this inveterate opponent, lest the people of Attica should be seduced from their engagements; a defection which might influence all Greece. Another Athenian had attracted the king's *esteem*; Phocion maintained in it as exalted a place as any

* Freins. transposit. † Eodem. ‡ Ante, p. 142.

man, by the incorruptible, undeviating virtue, and soaring integrity, which shed a lustre round his poverty. The king was attentive to him at first, for the uses to which he imagined address might mould him: but when he had received multiplied convictions of his magnanimity, the interested, measuring valuation of the politician was absorbed in unbounded admiration. To relate here two circumstances, which should be postponed, if regulated merely by their date:—Alexander, in the course of his attempts to gain him, sent him a hundred talents, [£22,500,] and desired him to select one as his own, out of these four cities in Greece—Cius, Elæa, Mylassa, Patara; places of considerable rank. Phocion inflexibly refused the whole of this superb temptation: but lest he should be construed to spurn at the friendship of Alexander, he prayed him to grant, as a favour to himself, liberty to the sophist Echecratides; Athenodorus, the Imbrian; Demaratus and Sparto, Rhodians; all then imprisoned in the fortress at Sardis. When the king, after the overthrow of Darius, had become so extravagantly elated, as to consider the persons whom he addressed by letter, as unworthy of the usual form of salutation, he continued that compliment to Phocion as well as to Antipater.

Alexander had now to provide for the secu-

rity of the conquered territories, and to form provincial governments and administrations. To Pausanias, of the Band of Friends *, he confided the important citadel of Sardis, with the command of the Argive auxiliaries. The other confederate Greeks, with the satrapy from which Memnon had been driven, were placed under the command of Calas, and Alexander the son of Æropus. Nicias was commissioned to collect the imposts and tributes. Assander, the son of Philotas, obtained the government of Lydia under the same limitations as Spithridates had held it.

These appointments completed,—Alexander marched to Ephesus †, which the garrison, apprized of the defeat of the Persian army, had quitted in two gallies: With them escaped Amyntas, the son of Antiochus, because he feared, that the malignant and unprovoked opposition which he had manifested, had kindled a flame of inextinguishable resentment in the king. It is remarkable, that more than one Macedonian of the name of Amyntas were enemies and traitors to Alexander.

On the fourth day after leaving Sardis, Alexander entered Ephesus. He recalled all the persons whom the oligarchy had exiled, and

* Freins. transposit. † Ibid.

flattered the attachment of the citizens to unmixed democracy, by reëstablishing that form (as by daring trope it may be termed) of government. The mass, as soon as they were liberated from restraint, and invested with power, clamorously demanded, that the party which had called-in Memnon; and the citizens who had either cast down the statue erected to Philip, or had levelled the monument in the forum to the patriot Heropythus; and those individuals, (for with the names and actions of the proscribed they mingled profligates and crimes,) who had pillaged the temple of Diana, should all be punished according to their demerits. At this outcry, Pelagon and his brother Syrphaces, with their kinsmen, were dragged from the violated asylum of the temple, and were stoned to death. All things were tending to turbulence and effusion of blood, when Alexander, interposing, arrested the outrages of the rabble, and prohibited any accusation or molestation founded on past transactions. Thus was a shield extended over the superior class of citizens, who would otherwise, to expiate their dignity or riches, have been, on the pretext of some former offence, immolated to the revenge and avarice of a despotic, remorseless, multitude.

A deputation from Magnesia overtook Alexander at Ephesus, while another met him from

Trallus,—to convey the submission of both cities. The king detached Parmenio to Æolia, with five thousand foot, and two hundred horse; and caused Alcimalus to traverse Ionia with a similar force; that they might take possession in his name of the scattered states and municipalities; instructing both generals to abolish oligarchy, and to restore democracy, in all the Grecian colonies,—for he had discovered that the Grecian colonies were well affected to him, or, which is the same thing in its effects, were highly impatient and irritated under the curb and lash of their Asiatic tyrant. The most turbid forms of popular domination he might allow to small, separate states, without much danger to him or to themselves, while he retained the power to moderate domestic faction.

At Ephesus, Alexander frequently recreated his mind, after the fatigues of government, by visiting the study of Apelles *. The picture of Alexander grasping a thunderbolt, painted for the temple of Ephesian Diana, gained the artist a reward of twenty talents. For his Venus Anadyomené, in the sanctuary at Cos, the second Cæsar, our great Augustus, remitted to the inhabitants a hundred talents of tribute, although time or accident had then impaired the

* Ante, p. 14.

lower part of the piece: the traits effaced, no one of our painters would venture to restore. The model of this Venus was Campaspe *, Alexander's favourite mistress, of exquisite beauty, and the first who had attracted his youthful heart. The sensibility of Apelles was too deeply penetrated by the charms which he had successfully depicted. Alexander, as soon as apprised of his passion, made him a present not only of Campaspe, but of the affection which she had so permanently excited in himself †. If the prince consulted the sentiments of the beloved object, in promoting her marriage with Apelles, he acted with peculiar magnanimity. I do not entertain without suspicion, the statement that Apelles painted an equestrian portrait of Alexander, in which the representation of the horse did not satisfy the king: But if a living horse actually neighed in passing the picture, and Apelles, availing himself of so singular an incident, said to the king, "The horse seems a better "judge of painting than your Majesty," the repartee had more freedom than justice, because, as a deceptive piece, it might possess visible life, without characterizing the beauty, spirit, and majesty of Bucephalus. Still less am I inclined to credit an anecdote, describing Alex-

* Ælian calls her Pancasta. † Plin. iii. 222. et seq.

ander, on another occasion, as pouring out, with great vehemence and volubility, some strictures on various branches of the art, which betrayed total ignorance of its principles: when Apelles interrupted him by a taunting reprimand, neither consistent with the dignity of conscious genius*, nor with the deference which was due to Alexander, not merely as a king, but as a man of taste who patronized the arts:—Somewhat less improbable is that version of the anecdote, which substitutes, for Alexander, a superior among the *Megabizi*, as the priests of Diana were called: this man was pouring out a torrent of impertinence on the pictures round, the finished works, and the pieces on the easel:—Apelles told him, 'That while he had remained silent, his ornaments of gold and purple gained him the veneration of the ignorant: but lecturing on an art of which he knew no-

* With the frankness of his age and nation, he assumed the merit which belonged to him, and freely asserted, that none of his competitors could imitate the gracefulness of his attitudes and figures. But in some other branches of the art, he acknowledged his inferiority to several of his contemporaries. The desire of seeing the works of Protogenes carried him to Rhodes. He there found a rival not altogether unworthy to alarm his jealousy. But instead of yielding to the dictates of this miserable passion, he drew Protogenes from obscurity; raised the price of his pictures; and taught the Rhodians, who undervalued the *same* talents in their fellow-citizen which they admired in a stranger, to acknowledge and respect his merit. *Gillies.*

'thing, he was an object of ridicule even to the 'boys grinding the colours.'

Fourteen years, the temple * lay a magnificent pile of ruins; eight years, the Ephesians had been engaged on, and were still prosecuting the work of rebuilding it †. Alexander assisted their pious zeal, by augmenting the revenues of Diana with the tribute which had been paid to the Persians.—Its privileges, as an asylum which Bacchus had instituted, and Hercules had respected, he confirmed; enlarging its boundaries, as a sanctuary, to one stadium on every side. Afterwards, when Alexander had acquired the sovereignty over Asia, he proposed, in a letter to the Ephesians, 'To reimburse to them all 'the money which they had expended in the 'work of restoration, and to supply whatever 'treasures might thereafter be requisite, pro-'vided his name were inscribed on the new 'temple.' Unwilling to concede away their honours as founders, they veiled their refusal under a cloud of incense, of which the extravagance was tempered by address. Availing themselves of his claim to be worshipped as Jupiter's son, they declared by their ambassadors, 'That 'a celestial being could not, as they conceived, 'dedicate a temple to the goddess, without

* Ante, p. 8. † Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 641. Plin. lib. xxxv. cap. 10.

'stepping down from his own rank as a deity; 'while such an offering from a community of 'men to Diana, were a proper homage to her 'superior nature.' They were not debased sycophants; for, while they willingly forfeited his profuse offers, they spiritedly expended their own riches on the building, even to their jewels*. Conformably to the piece of adulation under which they veiled their refusal to barter the fame which the inscription would challenge for Ephesus, they employed Apelles to paint that picture of the conqueror of Asia which has been adverted to†. Apelles is stated to have used but four colours.

CHAP. VII.

Alexander reëstablishes Smyrna. Attempts to unite the gulfs of Smyrna and Ephesus. Marches to Miletus; is obliged to besiege it: His fleet occupies the harbour: The city falls: His sarcasm on seeing the statues erected there to Athletæ. Antiquities and curiosities there. He makes a youth of Jassus high-priest of Neptune.

THE seat in which the Smyrnæans had anciently flourished, was, about this time, restored to

* Aristot. Cur. Rei. Famil. t. ii. p. 505. Strabo, ut supra.

† Ante, p. 214.

their descendants, after they had lived dispersed in villages during four hundred years, the interval since the destruction of pristine Smyrna by the Lydians. Influenced by a dream, Alexander rebuilt it about twenty stadia from the place where the old city had stood. Accustomed, when affairs of moment would permit, to take the exercise of hunting, he, one day, after the fatigues of the chase, fell asleep on the mountain Pagus; embraced by repose, he imagined that he heard the Nemeses (whose temple was contiguous) command him to found a city in the place where he was, and people it with the Smyrnæans. In harmony with this dream, the oracle of Apollo Clarius promised to the inquiring Smyrnæans, that their removal would redound to their benefit. The foundations of the new city are, in consequence, laid under the orders of the king: Antigonus had the glory of finishing it, Alexander having committed to him the government of Lydia, Phrygia, and the contiguous tracts.

The Clazomenii inhabit a little promontory on the narrowest part of the gulf of Smyrna, running almost the distance of sixty stadia into the sea. Their territory is part of a peninsula, which stretching into the Ægean, by the isle of Chios, has Erythræ, famous for its sybils, towards the northern extremity; and Teos,

nearly opposite to the Clazomenii, on the southern side of the Isthmus. Near Teos, is the mountain Mimas, of great altitude, but of gentle declivity at its base, terminating in a plain near the territory of the Clazomenii. Alexander, having surveyed the place, resolved to cut a channel through the isthmus, which, encompassing Mimas and Erythræ, should separate the peninsula from the continent, and unite the gulfs of Smyrna and Ephesus. This was the solitary project in which he failed, fortune concurring with him to accomplish all his other undertakings. The humiliating disappointment drew from him this superstitious reflection: "It is not lawful for mortals to change the face "of nature, and such an attempt is the more "presumptuous after others have engaged in it "and miscarried." These expressions *might* be dictated by art; for while they contained an apology for his failure, they were calculated to deter others from inflicting on him the additional mortification which the completion of what he had abandoned would give to a spirit too extravagantly proud to be uniformly magnanimous. A less gigantic work, that of joining Clazomenæ to the continent, the king committed to one of his lieutenants: This was effected by a mole, or causeway, two stadia in length: The separation had been artificial; the Clazome-

nii having converted their territory into an island, to protect themselves from the Persians.

To Diana, Alexander now offered magnificent sacrifices; during which, to swell the honours which he paid her, his assembled forces were present under arms. Leaving Ephesus the following day, he marched to Miletus, the ancient capital of Ionia; taking with him all the infantry, the Thracian cavalry, and four of the select squadrons, called his friends, including the royal band. Hegesistratus, the governor of Miletus, had intimated by letter to Alexander, that he would surrender the place to him. Understanding, afterwards, that the Persian fleet was approaching, the vacillating Barbarian conceived the design of maintaining for Darius the fortress, which was abundantly supplied with arms, provisions, and every requisite to endure a long siege: the garrison was numerous, Memnon having in his flight, after the battle of the Granicus, reinforced it with a considerable body of troops.

Alexander, falling suddenly upon the enemy with his incensed army, possessed himself, immediately on commencing the siege, of the outward town, as it was termed: The citizens and garrison, to prevent their strength from being divided, had retired into the inner town, resolving there to wait for reinforcements, which

they were informed were at hand. Their expectations of relief were frustrated by the arrival of the Macedonian fleet, under Nicanor, who took possession of the island of Ladé, lying above Miletus. Apprised that the Persian fleet were at anchor under the mountain Mycale, Alexander's admiral sailed into the Milesian harbour, and cut off the besieged from succour. Nor did the Barbarians offer to obstruct him, notwithstanding they had nearly four hundred vessels, while Nicanor's force did not exceed one hundred and sixty.

During these naval proceedings, Glaucippus, the most considerable person in the city, was sent to Alexander, to demand that the suburbs and the harbour might be held in common by the Persians and Macedonians; but he returned with this uncompromising answer: "Alexander has not come into Asia to accept "what others have no objection to bestow: "no, with what he can spare every one must "be satisfied. The people of Miletus ought to "know it to be their duty to confide their for-"tunes to the arbitration of their superior, un-"less they are prepared, as soon as the morning "dawns, to appeal to the sword."

The Milesians gallantly repelled the first shock of the Macedonians, killing, among others, the two sons of Hellenica, foster-mother

to Alexander, and sister to the brave Clitus. Afflicted and incensed, the companions of the regretted slain brought their military machines to act upon the city wall, and soon made a practicable breach. Now, the Macedonian preparations for storming were complete; the besieged beholding, on one side, fierce enemies climbing to the assault; and, in another direction, hostile gallies executing alarming movements in their harbour, were suddenly seized with a disordering panic. Some of the garrison, with the assistance of the hides which they used as bucklers, swam to the opposite island; others, in little boats, rowed after them in pursuit of safety,—but these were taken by the Macedonian vessels at the mouth of the harbour.

Alexander, having reduced the fortress, dispatched gallies against the small party which had reached the island, providing the troops on board with ladders, that they might ascend the lofty and craggy bank, as in the scalade of a city. But observing that the Greeks in the pay of the Persians, (not exceeding, altogether, three hundred men,) were ready to sacrifice their lives, in the last extremity, he began to feel sympathy for them, and to admire the fidelity and bravery which impelled them to venture close to destruction in the service of those under whom

they had enlisted. He spared them, and incorporated them with his army.

In the meantime, the soldiers*, who had forced an entrance into the city through the breach, commenced a general pillage: as some of them broke into the temple of Ceres, with a design to plunder it; sudden flashes of fire, emanating from the interior, struck the sacrilegious wretches blind.

The victor made slaves of all the Barbarians whom he found in the town; granting, at the same time, to the surviving Milesians, their liberty, in consideration of the ancient splendour of their republic. For Miletus was, a long time, so flourishing and powerful, as to have planted no less than seventy colonies in the neighbouring seas. And it had a wide-spread lustre from the number of its citizens who had carried away the palm in the sacred combats; for such honours were classed by the Greeks among the highest proofs and ornaments of virtue. But Alexander did not share in this extravagant respect for Athletæ, who cultivated the powers of the body merely to amuse the populace, and gratify a passion for notoriety, by fighting on a stage for prizes; he valued physical vigor, as it

* Freins. transposit.

could conduce to public advantage*. This made him sarcastically ask, when he beheld the multiplicity of statues erected to men who had gained triumphs in the amphitheatre, "Where, Milesians! were these champions when you received the Persian yoke?"

Among several existing monuments of his ancestors, the king's curiosity was attracted by a fountain, whose waters are brackish to the taste at its bubbling source, and sweet when divided into streams: the Milesians call it the spring of Achilles, from a tradition that the hero bathed in it, after he had vanquished Strambelus, Telamon's son, carrying succour to the Lesbians. Miletus could likewise boast of the oracle of Apollo Didymeus, rich, and celebrated for its responses. Seleucus, one of the powerful successors of Alexander, consulted it respecting his return to Macedon, and received this answer; 'That, bidding adieu to 'Europe, he should embrace Asia.'

The king's fondness for astonishing novelties was also gratified by information that a youth of Jassus, in a neighbouring island, had charmed or tamed a dolphin to service and attachment; the fish being so familiar with his voice, that, when called, it would readily take

* Ante, p. 31.

him on its back, and bear him over the waves. Inferring that this young man was a favourite of Neptune*, the king constituted him high-priest of the god.

* This seems to have been a hasty inference: since Alexander's time, there have been many proofs of the possibility of taming fishes. Pliny reports, that one of the Roman emperors had, in a set of fish-ponds that had been peculiarly tended, several fish that would individually come and show themselves when called by their particular names.

An epigram of Martial, lib. iv. 30, seems to confirm this account:

Piscator, fuge! ne nocens, recedas;
Sacris piscibus hæ natantur undæ;
Qui nôrunt dominum, manumque lambunt
Illam, quâ nihil est, in orbe, majus:
Quid, quod, nomen habent; et ad magistri
Vocem quisque sui venit citatus.

Rash angler, fly! while guiltless, hence away;
The fish are sacred in these waves that play;
Their lord they know, and kiss his feeding hand,
That dares the world to match its high command:
These all bear names; each, from its finny peers,
Darts to the marge, its master when it hears.

One of the Great Moguls is represented, by Mons. Bernard, in his *History of Indostan*, to have had fish brought to the same state of docility. See Walton's *Complete Angler*, SEVENTH edit. London, 1808.

CHAP. VIII.

By preventing the Persian fleet from victualling, Alexander obliges it to leave Miletus; and, meanwhile, captures one ship of a small detachment. He discharges his fleet. Sends a force against Pontus. Reduces the whole of Caria except the capital; protects the queen, who had been unjustly expelled. The pupil of Leonidas remembers a lesson on temperance.

AFTER the reduction of Miletus, the numerous fleet of the Barbarians continued to hover near it; and, confident in their multitude and superior seamanship, in order to provoke a battle, repeatedly presented themselves before the port where the Macedonian ships were riding. Hereupon, the king detached Philotas, with the cavalry and three battalions of infantry, to mount Mycale, near the anchorage of the Persians, instructing him to prevent the enemy from landing, and from obtaining wood, water, or other supplies. Reduced by this proceeding to great difficulties, the admirals of the enemy, after calling a council, steered to Samos: but as soon as they had provisioned their fleet, they returned

to Miletus, again taking a station before the harbour in order of battle.

Meanwhile, a Persian officer, with a detachment of five ships, discovering a few Macedonian vessels in a separate port—between the little island, before mentioned, and the harbour which contained the body of the Macedonian fleet—made all sail thither, expecting to find them comparatively unmanned, and that, while their crews were engaged on shore at a distance, they would fall easy prizes. But Alexander putting as many seamen as could be collected at the instant on board ten gallies, commanded them to go and meet the enemy. The Persians, attacked with superior forces by those whom they thought to have surprised in a state of weakness, had recourse to flight: one of their ships, manned with Jassians, was captured; the remainder, by swift sailing, regained their fleet. The Persian admiral was forced to leave Miletus without accomplishing his object.

It now occurred to Alexander, that the disproportionate inferiority of his fleet to that of the enemy, would prevent it from supporting his future land operations with precision; besides, the expenditure which it occasioned appeared to be too great for his treasury: he therefore expressed to his lieutenants a design of dismissing it. Parmenio maintained a different

opinion, and urged the king to venture a naval engagement; "For," said he, "if the Macedonians be victorious, they will reap numberless advantages: if they should be obliged to retire, they will lose nothing, since the Persians are already masters at sea; and it will not be difficult for those who are strongest on land to defend their coasts." To engage the king to accept his advice, he offered to execute it himself, and to take, on board the fleet, any post in the conflict and share of the danger which the king would assign him. His proposition had the countenance of a presage, susceptible of a very encouraging interpretation; an eagle had alighted on the shore behind the king's fleet. The leader of the army thus replied: "You are deceived, Parmenio! in supposing that our small marine can contend with all the Persian navy. Is it eligible to commit inexperienced, unseasoned crews—in a contest with expert rowers and proficient navigators? I do not distrust the bravery of my men: but I am sensible that, in sea fights, bravery, without tactics, can contribute little to victory. Often is a line of gallies broken by the winds and waves; but these deranging accidents may, by a skilful management of the sail, rudder, and oar, be either eluded, or improved into advantages. Much depends on the struc-

" ture of the ships. The highest courage of the " Macedonians would be unprofitably exerted, " since circumstances would enable the Barba- " rians, either totally to decline an engagement, " or, if a disaster befel us, to destroy our fleet. " Should we then lose nothing, Parmenio? All " Asia would be roused to firm opposition, if " by a stroke our marine were swept away at " the commencement of the war. The mass of " mankind are of such a temperament, that, ac- " cording as the first great affair prospers or " miscarries, they look with confidence or ap- " prehension to the final event. Not to doubt " of this effect on Asia, who can assure me that " the Greeks themselves will remain faithful, if " they find one gleaming inducement to believe " that success is going to abandon us; for, to " disclose a fact, all that attaches them to us is " our prosperity. I must confess, that I re- " gard the circumstance of an eagle having been " seen behind our naval columns as a presage of " victory. But the augury seems to indicate, " that we shall overcome the enemy's fleet by " land; for the auspicious bird did not rest " upon our ships, but on the shore, pointing " out the place for operations, as well as the " result. It is too evident to be controverted, " that if we proceed in reducing the maritime " cities under our power, the adverse marine

" must waste of itself; for it will have neither " recruits, nor provisions, nor convenient and " secure harbours. Take these from the Per- " sians, and the more numerous their navy, the " sooner will it moulder to ruin through the " want of resources. These reasons induce me " to retain, in attendance on the army, only so " many ships as are necessary to transport the " heaviest battering engines *."

The great proportion of the fleet which was discharged, *possibly*, included all the Grecian contingents. Alexander now confided † to select lieutenants expeditions against Pontus and the contiguous tracts. He in person advanced into Caria, informed that the enemy had there assembled in force. Those inhabitants who preserved their allegiance to Persia, entertained hopes, that Halicarnassus, with its strong natural fortifications flanked by two citadels, would stop, as a bank of impervious rock, the torrent of invasion. They had the highest reliance on Memnon, who was unremitting in preparations to make a successful stand against a persevering siege. He had been recently constituted, by Darius, governor of the maritime coasts, and high-admiral. He was a man of great penetration, address, and resource, prompt

* Chap. ix. infra, in p. supern. † Freins. transposit.

to seize opportunities and to discern the remedies required in critical times. Greatly superior to the rest of the Persian generals in the art of war, he was conscious that he had not been trusted and rewarded according to his integrity and merit: and he knew the cause: as he was of Grecian extraction, and had formerly been well received at the Macedonian court, his tried services had not entirely exempted him from suspicion; he therefore sent his wife and children to Darius, as though he was solicitous for their safety; but intending, by these invaluable pledges, to convince the king of his fidelity.

In a short time Alexander was master of all the places between Miletus and Halicarnassus, a great majority of them being Grecian colonies; these, according to his constant policy, he reinstated in the privilege of living under their own laws and institutions, declaring, 'That he entered Asia to liberate them from oppression.'

By insinuating arts, he even won the affections of the aboriginal Barbarians, who, with the posterity of some ancient Phœnician settlers, inhabited Caria. To Ada, a native princess, who implored his interference to place her on the throne of that kingdom, from which she had been unjustly expelled, he behaved with the most courteous attention. Hecatomnus, antecedently king of Caria, had three sons and two

daughters: the custom of that country allowed the offspring of the same parents to be affianced in marriage, and partners in dominion: Mausolus, the eldest son, married Artemisia; Hidrius espoused Ada; Pexodarus, the youngest son and child, unable to pursue a custom which strikes us as a revolting deformity in national manners, degraded his princely, and heightened his moral dignity, by taking a wife in another family. On the death of the father, Hecatomnus, Mausolus and Artemisia conjointly reigned. By the Carian laws, as well as those of Upper Asia, the succession of females, on an exact equality with males, in the order of seniority, had been established ever since the age of Semiramis*: on the decease of Mausolus, Artemisia reigned solely. Dying with grief at the end of two years, she was succeeded by Hidrius and Ada. Ada likewise survived her husband and brother: but Pexodarus, the last son of Hecatomnus, expelled her from the throne; and she took refuge in the fortified city Alinda. This strong hold she still possessed; but though Pexodarus was dead, she remained deprived of her right; for that usurper had married his daughter to Orontobates, a Persian nobleman; and to this pretender, whose weak title was de-

* Arrian, p. 23.

rived through his wife, the Great King, rejecting the just claims of Ada, had confirmed the crown.

This royal fugitive, at her first appearance before Alexander, to state her sufferings and demand his protection, addressed him by the appellation of son, and voluntarily surrendered to him Alinda. The Macedonian leader met the application, by a promise to establish her on the throne of Caria; which, after the reduction of Halicarnassus, he performed; leaving three thousand foot and two hundred horse to support her authority.

Meanwhile, his friendly reception of the injured Ada being proclaimed, with his exploits, by well-affected rumour, made an impression on the country favourable to his progress. From a great proportion of towns in the hands of the kinsmen or partizans of the princess, ambassadors brought crowns of gold, and delivered solemn assurances, 'That they embraced the protection, and would loyally obey the mandates, of Alexander.'

Ada, impatient to express her gratitude, prepared an exquisite assemblage of poignant and elegantly-flavoured viands and delicacies for the table of Alexander, and accompanied this present with a suite of cooks and confectioners; supposing that the refinements of Asiatic luxury

would be welcome to the conqueror after the fatigues of war. But the Macedonian ruler knew, that, to make invention a sycophant to the palate, is of pernicious consequence to the man who is engaged on weighty affairs. To the princess, while he politely thanked her for having sent him artists to regale his taste, he intimated, 'That it was superfluous; for he had 'with him better cooks, which were appointed 'by his tutor Leonidas—a walk early in the 'morning to create an appetite for dinner, and 'a frugal dinner to give zest to supper.'

CHAP. IX.

Alexander commences the siege of Halicarnassus. Unsuccessful attempt on Mindus. The garrison of Halicarnassus make a sortie. Two Macedonian soldiers, intoxicated, begin an assault, by which the place is nearly carried. Alexander obtains a truce to bury the slain. Anecdote of Memnon.

THE whole of Caria had now submitted, except the metropolis Halicarnassus, which was defended by a numerous garrison of Persians and

Greek mercenaries. Foreseeing a protracted siege, the king conveyed on-shore, from the attendant ships, provisions, with the necessary battering-engines. The catapults were immediately employed against the walls of the city, Alexander encamping with the infantry at the distance of five stadia. While a party of pioneers were working the battering-engines near the gate towards Mylassa, the besieged made an unexpected sally. The conflict was vigorously maintained; but the Macedonians, seasonably reinforced, at length repelled their desperate assailants, without suffering much loss in the affair.

A few days afterwards, Alexander received intimation that a faction in Mindus were ready clandestinely to deliver that town to him. In consequence, he proceeded thither, with a division of the army, in the silence of the night. But all the gates remained closed, nor was there any signal or movement from within: he therefore ordered some of the heavy-armed foot to undermine the wall; for, not having designed a siege in form, he had with him neither scaling-ladders nor battering-engines. After the soldiers had loosened the foundations of a tower, and brought it down, still there was no breach by which they might enter, for the tower fell in such a direction, that the ruins now defended the

space which the demolished pile had guarded. The garrison made a determined resistance: a reinforcement, sent by Memnon from Halicarnassus, arrived; and this enterprize of the Macedonians was frustrated.

Alexander, on his return to the siege of Halicarnassus, saw it necessary to undertake the laborious work of filling up a foss, thirty cubits broad, and fifteen deep, with which the enemy had surrounded the fort. For this purpose, he prepared three military tortoises; under cover of which, his pioneers could safely convey the earth and fascines. When the foss had been filled, by catapults elevated on wooden turrets, he battered the wall till he effected a practicable breach. Through this he attempted to storm the town: but the great numerical force of the garrison enabled Memnon constantly to replace his front lines by fresh troops. The Persians fought vigorously, animated by the presence of their generals, who performed every thing which could conduce to defence. The Macedonians persevered in their bold attacks till the day was exhausted, when the conflict terminated, the assailants retiring, and the besieged not pursuing.

The active Memnon, under a persuasion that the fatigues of the evenly-balanced day would render the Macedonian centinels less vigilant,

made a nocturnal sally, setting fire to the besiegers' works. The soldiers of Alexander heard the alarm; armed; and charged the detachment from the garrison, amid the flames, which one party laboured anxiously to extinguish, the other more furiously to spread. The Macedonians, though greatly superior in personal strength and courage, and in the cool indifference to danger which long intimacy with it gives, were yet almost borne down by their more numerous assailants; and, greatly distressed by ensnaring stratagems; receiving, in this conflict which had drawn them under the walls to protect their own engines, wounds from balistæ in the fortress which they had no opportunity of revenging. On both sides, vehement exhortations to their own men, and menaces to their antagonists, produce a general indistinct peal of piercing acclamation: hoarsely mingled, the groans of the wounded and dying pierce the listening sense: but the pathetic inarticulations of agony are again contrasted and overpowered by brisk and cheering sounds; from the voices and implements of workmen within the walls, repairing the damages caused by the shock of the besiegers' engines. The darkness of the night, and the irregular glare of scattered spires of flame reluctantly expiring—gasping emblems of the aversion of animal life to extinction—occa-

sioned the destruction and tumult of the scene to be greatly surpassed by the horror.

At length, the intrepid and persevering Macedonians drove the enemy within the walls, having killed of them one hundred and seventy, among whom was Neoptolemus, who, with his brother Amyntas, had fled to the Persians. The slain of the Macedonians did not exceed sixteen: but their wounded amounted to three hundred, the random discharge of adverse darts having conspired, with the black and featureless complexion of the night, to render impracticable their usual dexterity in guarding their bodies.

A few days afterwards, Halicarnassus was on the point of yielding to rashness and accident. Two veterans of the battalion of Perdiccas, posted on that side of the wall which looked toward Miletus, supping together in their tent, began a vaunting conversation on their military exploits, in which each preferred his own. When the heating effect of wine had raised to phrenzied extravagance the spirit of emulation, one of them exclaimed: "Why do we degrade "so noble a debate by the empty strife of "words? It is not the fluent tongue, but the "vigorous arm, that must decide. If you are "that great warrior, come with me." Taking weapons, they rushed forth together to assault

the wall of Halicarnassus, each scarcely entertaining the wild hope of victory, but ambitious to excel his companion in daring and prowess.

The centinels of the fort perceived the audacious enterprize, and moved to repel it: but the two Macedonians struck down with their swords the first men who approached, and flung javelins at the more distant. The enemy, rushing upon them from higher ground, would, however, have punished their boldness by overwhelming numbers, had not some soldiers of their own battalion, who observed their danger, advanced to their relief. The Halicarnassians also reinforced their guards. A sharp conflict ensued, in which success was alternate, till Alexander, leading up a force collected from the nearest quarters, drove the enemy into the town, which he had nearly entered with them. In this train of casualties, the garrison, intent on what was passing in one direction, relaxed in their defence of the walls; and two towers, with the intervening curtain, were beat down by the battering-rams; and a third became a pile of loose stones, of which a slight shock by the miners would complete the fall. Could the whole army have engaged in this sudden attack, the town might have been taken by storm.

Alexander desired a suspension of arms, that he might be able to bury those soldiers who had

fallen under the walls; choosing rather, in the estimation of the Greeks, to yield the victory to the enemy, than to leave his slain without interment. Against granting this application, Ephialtes and Thrasybulus, two Athenians in the Persian service, tenaciously protested; less inclined to cultivate humanity than to nurture livid antipathies; the malevolent and implacable foes which their hatred painted the Macedonians: but Memnon maintained, "That it "was unsuitable to the manners and character "of Greeks, to refuse an enemy permission to "bury his slain: That we should launch our "weapons against adversaries in the field; but "not insult them when they had not the power "to benefit or injure us." Memnon, among various great and good qualities, displayed remarkable moderation; not deeming honourable the virulent prejudice which covers an enemy with slander and invective: on the contrary, it was by talents and bravery that he expected to conquer. Once he heard an individual among the mercenaries vent much petulance and opprobrium against Alexander: Memnon, striking him with his spear, told him, 'That he had not 'hired him to rail, but to fight.'

CHAP. X.

During the truce, the garrison build a new wall. Alexander batters it; they make a sortie. A second sortie places Alexander in a critical situation: the garrison are defeated. They set fire to their works, and retire to castles near. Alexander demolishes Halicarnassus. His proceedings during the winter.

THE besieged, intent on providing for their security in the meantime, raised a brick wall within that which had been beat down, not in a direct line, but bending inwardly like a half moon. On the following day, Alexander began to batter this wall, the more easily destructible as the work was fresh. While the besiegers were engaged in the labour of demolition, on the one hand, the garrison executed a sortie and threw burning combustibles among the hurdles which covered the Macedonian works, and into one of the timber-framed turrets: but Philotas and Hellanicus, who had charge of the engines, checked the flames before they could spread; and the seasonable advance of Alexander so intimidated the enemy, that—the whole flinging away their torches, and some their arms—they

fled into the town with precipitation. But having regained their stations on the ramparts, the local and artificial advantages of Halicarnassus enabled them to repel their pursuers with ease; for the wall was so constructed, that the Macedonians could not attack any part, without being enfiladed on their flanks, as well as opposed in front.

The Persian leaders finding the siege so closely pressed, that each succeeding day abridged the limits of their operations, and knowing that the invader possessed inexhaustible perseverance, held a council to fix on some great proceeding suitable to the crisis. Ephialtes, eminent for personal strength and courage, descanted on the inconvenience and impolicy of submitting to be immured during a long siege. "Let us not," said he, "drag on this "tame, defensive course, till we lose the will "and power to resist, when we must fall, with "the town, a cheap prey to the enemy. While "we have yet some portion of strength, let us "strike a spirited blow against the besiegers "with the choicest of the hired Greeks. Does "this measure appear to be dictated by temerity? It is safe to execute; for the Macedo-"nians expecting any thing sooner than such "an attack, taken unprepared, will fight in "confusion, and must be defeated." Memnon,

though accustomed to prefer the wary line of action, to alluring enterprise, did not endeavour to controul the Athenian; considering, that as no succour was at hand, no junction would be lost, nor the fatal event of the siege accelerated, even by the complete miscarriage of Ephialtes. He, therefore, deemed it not improper to try, in the extremity, what a determined man might effect, apparently inspired to the bold undertaking.

Ephialtes selected two thousand from among the whole body of Greeks; these he commanded to procure a thousand torches, and to be under arms by the break of day, prepared to execute his orders. Alexander, as soon as the morning dawned, advanced the engines against the half-moon wall: his zealous soldiers began vigorously to batter it: suddenly half the force under Ephialtes sallied from the town, with torches spreading conflagration among the Macedonian works, he in person following with the remainder to attack such of the besiegers as should endeavour to obstruct the incendiaries.

Alexander, on intelligence of this movement, speedily formed from his assembled army chosen bands of reinforcements: some he detached to put out the fire, while he himself advanced against the division under Ephialtes, solely occupied in combat. Ephialtes, who possessed

extraordinary vigor, killed all who engaged him hand to hand, animating his men by his eye and his voice, and more by his intrepid example. And the besiegers were not in a slight degree annoyed from the walls; for the garrison had erected a tower a hundred cubits high, whence engines, judiciously planted, poured galling discharges of javelins and stones. During these proceedings, Memnon, with a body of troops, made an unexpected sally from the *Tripylon*, a different part of the town. Now, such a tumult was created in the Macedonian camp by the various directions in which attack was to be repelled, that the king himself hesitated. — — — But his comprehensive mind recovering itself, he obviated the accumulated danger by seasonable orders; and fortune so favoured their execution, that his situation ceased to be critical. The sallying party who attempted to burn the engines, were repulsed with great loss by the Macedonians on guard, timely reinforced. At the same time, Ptolemy the son of Philip, commander of the body guard, having with him, besides his own, the two battalions of Addæus and Timander, received Memnon so warmly, that the Macedonians had in that part of the field greatly the advantage, notwithstanding Ptolemy and Addæus were killed, with Clearchus, captain of the archers, and

about forty individuals in the ranks: The enemy, in their disorderly and precipitate retreat, broke down the narrow bridge which they had constructed over the moat, the unhappy crowd upon it falling headlong; some were crushed to death by their comrades, others perished by darts from the overlooking Macedonian stations; numbers that escaped this calamity were destroyed at the entrance of the town; for the terrified inhabitants apprehending that the pursuers and the pursued would enter together, suddenly closed the gate against their friends, abandoning them to the fury of the victors. During all this time, Ephialtes, formidable at first by confidence, and afterwards by desperation, maintained with gallant perseverance a conflict with the troops under the king, and held the victory in suspense, till the Macedonian *senior* battalion moved to the aid of their distressed companions. These veterans, though encamping with the army, and receiving pay and rewards, were exempt from duty, except in cases of the last necessity; their immunities and honours had been earned by a whole life of intrepidity begun in reigns preceding Philip's, and continued to the time of Alexander. These men, observing in their companions symptoms of terror, and of a wish to escape the combat; seeing them alternately look to the rear, as if to

discover a place of retreat, advanced to their relief, under the command of Atharias: renewing the languid fight, they, by mixing with their exhortations to the younger bands, reproaches on account of their unsoldier-like irresolution revived their bravery: now, both classes uniting in a furious attack, each emulous to excel in inflicting fatal strokes upon the enemy; in one decisive instant victory declared for them. Ephialtes, with the bravest and largest portion of his men, were slain; and the rest were driven back upon the town. A great proportion of Macedonians entered with the fugitives, and the fortress was upon the point of being taken by storm, when the king gave orders to sound a retreat—either because he was disposed to spare the lives and property of the inhabitants, or because, as night was approaching, he apprehended danger from ambuscades in the unknown windings of the city; or because he had not learned the event of the different skirmishes and actions in the other parts of the field.

Olymp. cxi. 3. *A. C.* 334. *Ætat. Alex.* 23. *Reg.* 3.

This battle consumed the most robust and courageous battalions of the garrison. This loss, and the breaches in the walls, made Memnon, and Orontobates, the governor, sensible, that much longer resistance was impossi-

ble*. After deliberation with the other generals, they, to diminish the booty which would fall to the enemy, set fire, in the night-time, to the wooden tower, to the arsenal and magazines, and to the houses near the wall. The conflagration, fanned by the wind, spread in all directions. The Persian commanders had transported a part of the citizens, and their valuable effects, into the island of Cos. Their braver adherents among the inhabitants, they transported, with part of the military, to a castle seated on an island, while another division of them retired to Salmacis, another neighbouring castle.

Alexander had been apprised, by deserters, of some of these proceedings; at midnight, he witnessed the raging flames: he immediately sent a detachment to extinguish the fire, and to punish those who promoted it, but with strict orders to protect such of the townsmen as were found in their houses.

The following morning, he examined the fortified retreats of the enemy: Perceiving, that they could not be reduced without much loss of time, but that it was from the city of Halicarnassus that they derived importance, he re-

* Arrian, p. 22.

luctantly demolished the metropolis of Caria, that it might never thenceforth serve as a rallying point to the Persians.

Ptolemy Lagus was left to observe the castles, and to act in the country as the lieutenant of Alexander: he was instructed to support the authority of Ada, as queen of Caria*.

Not long afterwards, Ptolemy, uniting his three thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry with the forces of Asander, lieutenant of Lydia, defeated Orontobates. And the Macedonians, irritated by the protracted resistance of the castles, and disgusted with the tedious procedure by blockade, took them by assault.

The season of winter †, which often entirely suspends military operations, the king passed in proceedings to secure, and preparations to extend, his advantages. He detached Parmenio with the squadrons called the *friends* or *companions;* the auxiliary horse and the Thessalians, under Alexander Lyncestes, to Sardis, with orders, to make thence an irruption into Phrygia, and to collect, at the expense of the enemy, provisions and forage for the army expected from Macedon. A draughted body of soldiers, who had married shortly before the expedition,

* Ante, p. 234. Et vide Arrian, p. 23. † Arrian, ut supra.

including his captains Cænos and Meleager, he sent home, under the command of Ptolemy, the son of Seleucus, to winter with their wives; a measure which endeared Alexander to the army, and ensured the alacrity of his European subjects, in promoting and joining the levies for the expedition. He charged the officers, during their residence in Macedon, to be assiduous in raising recruits—to be marched into Asia in the spring, with the soldiers whom they had conducted home.

Here he had the affliction to observe, that his army was not uninfected with the depraving manners of the Asiatics, and that there were, in his camp, a great number of abandoned outcasts from nature: having collected them by a severe search, he deported them into a little island in the Ceramic gulf: The infamy which they communicated to the town is perpetuated by the name Cinædopolis.

CHAP. XI.

Alexander's progress in Lycia. Prodigy of the brazen tablet. Alexander halts in the country of the Phaselians: his extravagant demeanour before the statue of Theodectes. Conspiracy of Alexander Lyncestes. Difficult passage along the beach from Phaselis to Perga. Reflection on events in Alexander's life, which have been referred to celestial interposition. His dream at Dium retrospectively noticed. He visits Jerusalem.

ALEXANDER steadily prosecuted his plan of reducing the enemy's coast, in order to render their fleet ineffective. By the treachery of the Persian mercenary Greeks in the castle which awed the district of the Hyparni, he became master of the place and people. Afterwards advancing into Lycia, he received into his protection the Telmissenses. Having passed the Xanthus,—the town to which that river gives name, with Pinara, Patara, and thirty other inland towns or sea-ports, surrendered to him. About this time* the zeal and devotion

* This passage, transposed from book ii. chap. 8. of Freinshemius, is now unoffending with regard to chronology and geography: and however it may still be thought to violate probability, the absurdity is avoided of making Alexander use it as an argument in *council.*

of his troops were stimulated by an opportune prodigy: a fountain near the city Xanthus boiled up, and threw up a brazen tablet engraved with ancient characters, signifying 'that the 'time was at hand, when the Persian empire 'should be overthrown by the Greeks.'

While his lieutenant, Parmenio*, was traversing the internal parts of Lydia and Phrygia, the conqueror proceeded to Mylias, anciently comprehended in the Greater Phrygia, but united by the Persian monarchs to Lycia. While he was accepting the submission of the nearer tracts, ambassadors came to him from the Phaselians, and from various towns of Lower Lycia, presenting, on the part of each municipality, a crown of gold, as an earnest of amity and an expression of allegiance. Having sent detachments to occupy the subordinate towns of the Phaselians, and the other cities of Lycia, the king marched in person to Phaselis. The military force of that community had been long endeavouring to reduce a fortress, erected by the Pisidians on their territory: whence marauding bands had issued and committed great ravages: After Alexander's arrival, this fortress was soon taken. In the country of the Phaselians, he dedicated some days of repose to the

* Freins. transposit. And see Gillies's Greece, chap. 37.

refreshment of himself and army; which was rendered necessary by the difficulties of marching along the roads in the severities of mid-winter.

Here, coming from a banquet at a moment when profuse libations had perceptibly exhilarated him; and happening to behold a statue which the inhabitants had erected to the memory of Theodectes; he recollected his friendship with that poet and orator, when they were fellow-pupils to Aristotle; he immediately proceeded to the monument, and went round it with the gesticulations of a dancer; depositing upon it several garlands of flowers. The extravagant elation into which the constant operation of success, and the transient influence of wine, had seduced him, if it had not subsided, was chastized and repressed by an alarming message from Parmenio. This vigilant officer had detected and apprehended Asisines, a Persian whom Darius had sent, invested with a public character, to Atyzies, governor of Phrygia, but with private instructions, "To obtain "a secret conference with Alexander Lyncestes, and promise him a thousand talents of "gold, with the kingdom of Macedon, if he "performed that which had been planned:" Alluding to the atrocious undertaking to assassinate the king to which the enemy had sub-

orned him, and he had pledged himself, while he and Amyntas were fugitives at the Persian court. This traitor, as malignant as corrupt, nurtured in his dissembling heart a personal animosity against Alexander, because the prince had condemned to death his brothers Heromenes and Arrabeus, as accessary to the murder of Philip. The life which he owed to the clemency*, and the honours to the generosity of his sovereign, were insufficient to excite his gratitude or preserve his allegiance; and the wicked ambition of possessing the crown, blinded him to his danger and his guilt.

When this affair was discussed in council, the confidential friends of Alexander animadverted on "that excessive facility of temper, "which could not only pardon the foulest "delinquencies, but heap on the delinquent "distinctions and employments, so far as to "allow him to command the chosen squadrons "of horse. What faithful servant would, dur-"ing the future, act loyally, if the king not "only exempted parricides from punishment, "but received them into favour, and conferred "upon them offices of the highest trust and "dignity? The indiscretion of such excessive "lenity it concerned the king timely to reme-

* Ante, p. 119.

" dy; for if Lyncestes should become aware " that he has been discovered, he will urge the " fluctuating Thessalians to revolt; nor could " any mischief be more perplexing, than their " defection would prove. Lastly; to contemn " the danger, would be to slight the care of the " deity, who had been pleased, by a supernatural occurrence, to admonish the king of the " treason." They alluded to an incident during the siege of Halicarnassus. While Alexander was asleep at mid-day, a swallow hovered round, perching now on one side of the couch, and now on the other. Its incessant chattering disturbed the king, exceedingly fatigued, and he brushed it off with his hand. Instead of endeavouring to escape, the bird, full of confidence, perched upon his head, and refused to be scared away, till, through its noise, Alexander thoroughly awoke. The prodigy was communicated to Aristander, who declared, ' That a ' conspiracy was formed against the king by ' one of his officers whom he treated as a friend, ' but that it would not remain undiscovered, ' because the swallow is a domestic bird, a ' friend to man, and exceedingly loquacious.'

Having considered the agreement between the interpretation of the hierophant, and the disclosure of Asisines; and remembering that his mother had cautioned him in a letter " to

" beware of this man;" he, in conformity to the recommendations of his friends, decided against further confidence, clemency, or delay. He signified this determination to Parmenio—not in writing, lest, intercepted, it should unseasonably transpire; but gave verbal instructions in charge to a messenger of fidelity and rank. Amphoterus, brother to Craterus, selected for the service, assumed a Phrygian habit, and, taking some Pergenses as guides, penetrated through the country to Parmenio. The unworthy Lyncestes is, in consequence, placed under arrest; and though his interest, connections, and family, occasioned his punishment to be long respited, yet three years afterwards he was executed, as one of the accomplices with the traitor Philotas.

On his departure from Phaselis, the king divided the corps under his immediate command. A considerable detachment traversed the mountains of Lycia and Pamphilia, while the king in person pursued the dangerous track along the beach from Phaselis to Perga*. Here, the foaming sea, beating against the chain of rocks denominated the Climax, renders the narrow road at their base impracticable, except when the surge is repelled by a strong north wind. When Alexander began his march, the wind blew from

* Gillies's Greece, chap. 37: et Freins.

the south, yet he advanced without fear, confiding in his fortune. Before they reached that section of the road where the flood would have proved an insurmountable, or a fatal obstacle, the south wind died away, a brisk gale sprang up from the north, and the sea retired; leaving the army only some streams to ford which had been swelled by winter-torrents from the mountains. Many congruent events, of a singularly propitious character, in the life of Alexander, countenance those *, who explain his progress by a reference to the immediate interposition of Divine Providence, which, in effecting an important revolution in the Eastern world, rendered the operations of nature, and the volitions of man, subservient to its secret purposes.

† At Dium in Macedonia, before the son of Philip had begun to march on his expedition,

* The philosophical Arrian is one of those.

† Some persons may be disposed to infer, that had Curtius credited the account which occupies the remainder of the chapter, it would have been introduced into that part of his history which has been preserved. The above relation, in its material parts, coincides with that of Freinshemius, composed chiefly upon the authority of Josephus, [l. xi. c. viii.] corroborated or qualified by incidental passages in Tacitus, Zonaras, and other writers. Dr. Gillies supposes the account of Josephus to be a story invented by the patriotic vanity of the Jews, on the following grounds: 1. All the historians of Alexander are silent concerning his journey to Jerusalem, and his extraordinary transactions there;—2. It is inconsistent with the

at an hour when he was reposing under the mantle of sleep, a personage, in appearance more than human, exhorted him to follow the vision into

narrative of Arrian: "The conquest of Phœnicia was *followed* by the "submission of all Palestine, except Gaza:" Alexander had thus no occasion to march against Jerusalem;—3. The conversation between Alexander, Parmenio, and the high-priest Jadduah, as related by Josephus, is contradictory to the best-authenticated events in the life of Alexander; for Parmenio, in asking Alexander, "Why *he* "*whom all the world adored,* should himself adore the high-priest "of the Jews?" is made to allude to an expression of homage which Alexander did not require till long after the period referred to by Josephus;—4. The Chaldæans could not have accompanied him, as that writer alleges;—5. The high-priest could not, with propriety, have requested Alexander to permit the Jews settled in Babylon and Media, the free exercise of their religion, before that prince had conquered those countries, or even passed the Euphrates.

The reflecting reader will perhaps be of opinion, that some of these difficulties, and those which at first view present the firmest countenance, may be repelled. To the SECOND objection, for example, any one of the following replies seems independently efficient.

The account of Josephus is not irreconcilable with the narrative of Arrian.

Arrian's "Expedition of Alexander," though a COMPILATION deservedly valued, is chargeable with material omissions and positive errors.

The Jewish nation, after having made submission, might resist a demand to furnish soldiers, unless it were connected with a chartering liberty to live according to their own laws in the Macedonian camp.

The conqueror, in the eager pursuit of encouraging omens and sanctions from the temples and priests of all religions, often went where he had no *military* occasion to go.

It is sufficient to insist, that the narrative of Arrian is chargeable with material omissions.

And, it may obviate the FIRST objection, to consider,—That had

Asia, where he should overthrow the Persian empire. The impression subsiding, lay dormant till the following transaction, which, were

we the annals of every people whom Alexander subdued, we should probably find transactions recorded of the highest interest in the view of every individual historian of his own nation, which all the other writers on the conquests of Alexander have omitted:—Not to suggest, on a different ground, that if Parmenio conceived that the son of Philip descended in prostrating himself before the Jewish high-priest, the Greek eulogist of the conqueror, viewing, like Parmenio, the interview as degrading, might *deliberately suppress* it.

It is *incredible*, that Alexander, whose spirit was as inquisitive as ambitious, should move from Damascus, to Tyre and Gaza, without visiting so renowned a place as Jerusalem. Curtius mentions, [Transl. book iv. chap. ii. 10.] that Alexander, during the siege of Tyre, marched with a flying camp into Arabia. While he was chastising the wandering children of Ishmael, to reduce the descendants of Isaac, then undispersed, were an incidental affair attended with little delay or difficulty.

The FOURTH objection asserts, that the *Chaldæans* could not have accompanied Alexander. Must we understand, by the word, natives of Chaldæa, a province in the bosom of the Persian empire, whither Alexander had not penetrated? Even then it seems an extraordinary position. Could not the camp which held Sisines, [see, infra, book iii. chap. vii. sect. 17.] contain any native Chaldæans?—But the Chaldæans who accompanied Alexander, were, probably, sages of the sect of Zoroaster, who founded the Chaldæan system of philosophy, of which the chief branches were magic and astronomy, with a mystical ontology, from which was afterwards borrowed the Manichean error; his disciples spread over a wide tract of country from the Tigris to the Nile; numbers settled in Syria: using a language common to the sect, they were called *Chaldæans*, without any regard to their birth-place. The conqueror of Syria might have in his service as many of these sages as he chose to retain; and as the Chaldaic language has great affinity with the Hebrew, of which it is a dialect, he might take to Jerusalem such attendants, as interpre-

it related in the order of time, would belong to the fourth book of this history. When Alexander was engaged in the siege of Tyre, he had demanded the submission of the neighbouring kings and people, requiring them to raise him soldiers. But the Jews, who held the famous city Jerusalem, alleging their alliance with Darius, declined to form a connection with the king of Macedon. Incensed, he marched into Judæa, with a design to punish their contumacy. But the inhabitants of Jerusalem, to disarm the anger of the invader, went out, with their wives and children, to meet him in a suppliant manner. The priests were clothed in fine linen; the multitude, which walked after the priests, a long train, also wore garments of white; the high-priest, in his pontifical habit of purple and scarlet, formed the head of the procession. Admiring the grandeur and pleasing effect of the scene, the king alighted from his horse, and advanced unattended: after he had saluted the high-priest, he bent in adoration to the sacred name of God, which was engraven on a plate of gold in the front of the pontifical mitre. This unexpected act struck the specta-

ters, to prevent the Jewish priests from imposing on him any factitious reading, or gratuitous construction, of their prophecies. It may not be irrelevant to add, that, besides other parts of the Scripture, the book of Daniel from ii. 4. to vii. *ult.* is written in Chaldaic.

tors with astonishment: The Jews, who saw themselves not only delivered from imminent danger, but received into favour, surrounded the king, congratulating him, praising him, and offering up prayers for his prosperity: On the contrary, the minor kings of Syria, who, inveterate enemies of the Jews, had attended the king, hoping to have their hatred indulged, by the punishment of their foes, doubted whether they beheld a mortifying reality, or their senses were imposed on by a dream, or whether those of the king were suspended: The Macedonians were surprized at the extraordinary scene to such a degree, that Parmenio presumed to ask the king, 'Why he bestowed such great honour 'on the rites of a foreign religion, when it was 'scarcely becoming his greatness to notice the 'homage of so abject a nation?' The venerable and dignified air of the sacerdotal chief had reminded Alexander of his vision, which he now related to Parmenio *.

Conducted by the priests into the city, he, in their temple, a beautiful structure, offered sacrifices to the Great Supreme, according to the

* He thus introduced this apology for the incident which had startled his attendants: "I did not adore the priest, but that God "who hath honoured him with his high-priesthood; for I saw this "very person in a dream, in this very habit, when I was at Dios in "Macedonia."—WHISTON'S *Josephus*, XI. viii. 5.

institutions revered by that race of people; and by magnificent benefactions he augmented its treasures. He here inspected their sacred books*, in which were several ancient prophecies to this effect: That Tyre should be destroyed by the Macedonians, and that Persia should be overcome by a Greek. Contemplating himself as the person designated, he felt such high satisfaction, that he granted to the Jews the liberty of living—both at home and in other countries—according to their own laws and ceremonies; and because their land lies untilled every seventh year, he released them from a corresponding proportion of taxes. The conqueror admired the climate and the aspect of the country, which abounds with rich fruits and vegetable productions, and alone produces the flowing balm of Gilead. He appointed Andromachus governor of these provinces: but we must not proceed in

* Perhaps Jeremiah, xxv. 22; xlvii. 4; Amos, i. 9, 10; Zechariah, ix. 4; Ezekiel, xxvii. 36; with relation to Tyre;—the fall of Gaza is mentioned in the context of the majority of these predictions. There are other denunciations against Tyre in Isaiah and Ezekiel, but they evidently point at the first destruction of Tyre by the Assyrians.

The prophecy of Daniel [viii. 21.] respecting Persia—is more precise, in marking out the *instrument* of divine vengeance. And Josephus merely says; "When the book of Daniel was showed him, "wherein Daniel declared, that one of the Greeks should destroy "the empire of the Persians, he supposed that himself was the per-"son intended."

anticipating transactions occurring about the time of the siege of Tyre, satisfied if we are allowed, for the sake of illustration, to snatch a few particulars from a later period.

CHAP. XII.

Alexander's progress in Pamphylia: He punishes the treacherous Aspendians. Marching through Pisidia towards Phrygia, he triumphs over the Telmissians and another tribe. The activity of Memnon in the Grecian islands: his death.

HAVING passed the narrow road at the edge of the Pamphylian sea, in advancing eastward from Perga, Alexander was met by ambassadors from Aspendus; they tendered the submission of that city and sea-port, but entreated that they might not be burdened with a garrison, offering for that exemption fifty talents towards the pay of his army, with as many horses as they had been accustomed to contribute to the king of Persia. On these terms, the conqueror received them to his allegiance.

He proceeded to the country of the Sidetæ, seated near the river Melas: a people from the stock of the Cumæans of Æolia, but Barbarians

in their language, having lost their Greek—not indeed by gradual corruption proceeding during centuries of absence; for their ancestors are represented, at their settlement in these regions, to have suddenly forgotten their native dialect, speaking a jargon before unknown.

Having accepted the surrender of Sidis, the metropolis of Pamphylia, he marched against Syllius, a fortress, which its local and artificial strength, and the presence of a powerful garrison, would have rendered difficult to reduce. While he was surveying the walls, he was informed that the Aspendians, who delayed the performance of their treaty, perfidiously intended to revolt. The greater part of their city was founded on a high and steep rock, washed by the river Eurymedon; some of its streets were, however, built on the plain, protected only by a slight wall. Thither Alexander immediately marched; on his approach, the inhabitants of the lower town ascended the mountain. The king entered the place, encamping within the walls, while his able engineers began their demonstrations. The Aspendians, alarmed, entreated him to accept the former conditions. He required the instant delivery of the horses stipulated; and to punish their treachery and insolence, he raised the immediate aid to be yielded in money to one hundred talents, and

imposed on them an annual tribute: he took their principal citizens as hostages that they would thenceforth obey his governor. He likewise ordered the Aspendians to abide the decision of an arbitration respecting a tract of land from which they had driven their neighbours.

Alexander now determined to return to Perga, thence to penetrate into Phrygia, where Parmenio had been directed to join him. In his march thither, he had to pass a narrow defile, formed by two mountains which almost touch; its mouths are so confined, that they may be compared to gates; here the Barbarians had posted themselves, determined to dispute the passage. The leader of the Greeks and Macedonians encamped before the entrance, concluding that the Telmissians, seeing the tents pitched, would imagine the attack to be postponed, and leaving what they might deem a sufficient guard, the body of them would desert the streits, and retire into the town. The enemy acted as Alexander had anticipated. Seizing the opportunity, he ordered the archers and slingers to advance, with the middle-armed foot, or targeteers: having beat off those who guarded the pass, he penetrated it, and encamped before Telmissus.

Here, ambassadors from the Selgenses, a tribe of the same nation as the Telmissians,

from inveterate hatred to the latter, tendered their friendship and assistance to the king.

After entertaining these overtures with great courtesy,—that his time might not be consumed by the prosecution of a single siege, he encamped with a detachment before Sagalassus, a place well fortified, and garrisoned with the flower of the forces of the country; for of all the warlike Pisidian hordes, the Sagalassians are considered the bravest. Reinforced by troops from their allies the Telmissians, and having more dependance on their courage than on their walls, they were posted in order of battle on a neighbouring hill. Advantages of ground enabled them to repulse the light-armed forces of Alexander: the Agrians, however, steadily maintained the conflict, encouraged by the approach of the Macedonian phalanx, and fired by seeing the king in the front of the colours. The soldiers had to surmount great difficulties in forcing their way up the acclivity; but, as soon as a field with less inequalities allowed them firmer footing, they easily dispersed the imperfectly-armed mountaineers.

There fell on the part of the Macedonians, Cleander, a leader, and twenty soldiers in the ranks. In the battle; and in the pursuit, which the Macedonians urged with much celerity for troops so completely armed—five hundred Bar-

barians were slain: local knowledge sheltered the rest in inaccessible retreats.

Having entered their deserted town, he directed his arms against the other strong-holds of Pisidia, of which he reduced some by force, while others submitted under conditions, promising fidelity.

He razed Telmissus on account of its contumacious opposition, and divested the inhabitants of liberty: a little afterwards he united their territory, with that of several other Pisidian cities, under the government of Celæna, a Phrygian province.

Having triumphed over the difficulties of the country, and the undisciplined fierceness of its various tribes, Alexander pursued his march into Phrygia, by the lake Ascanius. The waters of this lake have a natural tendency to concrete, supplying those who live on its borders with salt.

Between the siege of Halicarnassus and these transactions, Memnon, after having evacuated all Caria, and collected the scattered fragments of his army, conceived the design of carrying the war into Greece and Macedonia, proposing, by that diversion, to move Alexander from the provinces which he had fastened on in Asia. On Memnon alone now rested the hopes of Darius, who reviewed with satisfaction the bra-

very and talents with which that commander had, at the capital of Caria, kept Alexander so long in check: he therefore constituted him commander-in-chief, and transmitted him a liberal reinforcement in money. Memnon, with a fleet of three hundred ships, having on-board as many mercenary troops as he could procure with the subsidy, traversed the seas without opposition. He had weighed the circumstances likely to promote or obstruct his designs: he reduced the continental towns where the garrisons were weak or negligent, among which was Lampsacus: and as the Macedonians, at once masters of both continents and destitute of a fleet, were unable to succour the islands, against the islands he principally directed his active operations.

Divisions of opinion, which made almost all men partizans, powerfully availed Memnon in his enterprize. Those who had been won to Alexander's interest by the liberty in which he had reinstated them, were counteracted by those who, having amassed great riches under the Persians, preferred the possession of individual influence, under their former masters, to the equality of an unattempered democracy. In the island of Chios, Athenagoras and Apollonides, two of the most considerable men, in concert with Phisinus and Megareus, and others of their faction,

invited Memnon thither. Thus was Chios transferred to the Persian high-admiral* and maritime satrap, who, leaving a garrison in the place, committed the administration of affairs to Apollonides and his associates.

Memnon sailed thence to Lesbos; where he possessed himself of Antissa, Pyrrha, and Erissus, with little difficulty: having reduced Methymna, he established there Aristonicus as regent. Of the whole island, no place now held out except the celebrated city of Mytilene, which Memnon did not live to take; for just after he had encompassed the walls with extensive works, shut up the harbour, and so disposed his ships as to exclude succour, he fell a victim to the plague. The irreparable loss of such a leader repressed the sanguine hopes, and blighted the rising plans of the Persians.

Memnon, on perceiving the approach of dissolution, had resigned to Pharnabasus, his sister's son by Artabasus, the command provisionally, till Darius, on a report of the occurrence, should decree otherwise. Pharnabasus, dividing the duties of the siege with Autophradates the admiral, so pressed the city, that at length it surrendered on terms: "The garri-" son shall depart unmolested. The pillars on

* Ante, p. 231.

" which are carved the conditions of allegiance " to Alexander shall be thrown down. The ci- " tizens shall take an oath of fidelity to Darius, " and shall recal half the exiles." But the Persians did not strictly observe the capitulation: into the city they introduced soldiers, making Lycomedes, the Rhodian, its governor; over the country-districts they placed, as regent, Diogenes, who had been banished on account of his devotion to the Persian interest. Afterwards they levied forced contributions in money from the richest inhabitants, without lightening the tax which the common people of Mytilene had formerly paid. The insolence and oppression * by which the officers of Darius irritated and estranged the islanders, conspired with the vigilance of Antipater to defeat all their plans and movements.

* Gillies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK III.

THE BATTLE OF ISSUS.

CHAP. I.

Alexander reduces the city of Celæna. Refuses to liberate the Athenian prisoners. Cuts the Gordian knot. Puts in motion sea and land forces on the Hellespont. Transmits to several of his commanders and ministers aid in money. Enters Paphlagonia.

*1. ALEXANDER, in the meantime, had dispatched Cleander, with a sum of money, to enlist a subsidiary force in the Peloponnesus. Having created administrations for Lycia and Pamphylia, he conducted his army to Celæna,

* The Arabic numerals, before paragraphs in the text, answer to Curtius's own division of the chapters, and are preserved for the sake of reference.

a walled city which was intersected by the stream of the Marsyas. This river is celebrated by the fictitious origin ascribed to it by the Greek poets. Its spring, poured from the extreme summit of a mountain, falls, a roaring cataract, into the rocky channel below; afterwards, diffusing, the flood irrigates the green levels; perfectly clear, its waters dimpled with gentle undulations, are all derived from one source. Hence its complexion resembles that of the sea, when calm; and hence the fable of the poets, that nymphs loiter in the recesses of the rock, enamoured with the beauty of the river. While it flows between the ramparts, it retains the name of the Marsyas; but on leaving the town, swelled into a more copious and rapid stream, it is called the Lycus*.

Alexander entered Celæna, which had been deserted by the inhabitants, and prepared to attack the citadel into which they had fled. He apprised them by a herald, that unless they immediately surrendered, they must expect the utmost severities: they led the herald up into a

* Here the commentators recognize an error. Curtius confounds the Lycus, a river very near, with the Marsyas: the former, rising in mount Cadmus, does not wash Celæna, but Laodicea, and falls into the Meander, a little below the Marsyas. Maximus Tyrius, however, an eye-witness, makes the Meander and the Marsyas to be the same; in which case, the error, if any, is trivial.

tower, which nature and skilful engineers had combined to render strong, bidding him survey its height, and inform Alexander, 'That the 'inhabitants differed from him in their esti- 'mate of the fortress; that they knew it to be 'impregnable; and that, in maintaining their 'allegiance, they would not shrink from death.' But, when enclosed by the besieging forces, perceiving that scarcity gained upon them every day, they negociated a truce for two months, engaging, if not relieved during that time by Darius, to deliver up the place. No succour arriving, they surrendered on the appointed day.

2. Here, ambassadors from Attica requested the enlargement of such Athenians as had been taken at the battle of the Granicus. The king replied, "Not those only, but all the other "Greek captives I restore to their homes, when "the Persian war shall be ended."

Alexander knew that Darius had not yet passed the Euphrates; yet, impatient to meet him, he summoned his levies and recalled his detachments, in order that, with collected forces, he might come to a decisive action. His army he was now conducting through Magna Phrygia, which abounded with villages, but had few cities. Yet Gordium, the ancient seat of Mi-

das, still continued to be a place of importance; with the river Sangarius flowing through it, it is seated at an equal distance from the Euxine and the Cilician* sea. Between the two coasts†, we find the narrowest part of Asia Minor; both coasts, by deep indentations, giving this strip of the continent the character of an isthmus‡. Thus, the noble peninsula of Asia Minor is nearly embraced by the dominions of Neptune‖.

Alexander, having added the citizens of Gordium to the number of his subjects, entered the temple of Jupiter, where they showed

* According to the best modern maps, this is not a good clue to the site of Gordium; it is represented to be about seventy-five miles from the Euxine, and two hundred and forty from the Cilician coast. On the other hand, these maps place it at some distance from the Sangarius; by which, according to Strabo, as well as Curtius, it was intersected.

† Not in a line with Gordium, but between Pontus and Cilicia.

‡ *Arctas fauces*, applied to the space between the shores, has been censured: it seems a sufficient apology for Curtius, to consider, that a tract of much greater breadth may be an isthmus, provided it connect with the main-land a peninsula of correspondent magnitude.

‖ The translator has accommodated the passage to the present state of geography; for the *nisi tenue discrimen objiceret, maria, quæ nunc dividit, committeret*, of the original—"Were it not for "a slender neck of land, the two seas, which are now divided, "would meet"—is in this respect inaccurate, that it conveys the idea of positive tenuity, not of relative narrowness, contrasted with the body of the continent.

him the car of Gordius, father to Midas*. There was nothing in the workmanship of this rude car, or waggon, to distinguish it. But the yoke [or harness] was rendered a remarkable object by the labyrinth of cord which held it; so intertwisted was this with itself, that, in the multiplied knots, the real knot, where the extremities met, could not be discovered. Alexander, informed by the inhabitants that the oracle had conferred the empire of Asia on the man who

* The story of Gordius is shortly this. In remote antiquity; born, he for some time resided, in Phrygia: his whole property consisted of a small piece of land, and two yokes of oxen; one employed in his plough, the other in his waggon. While he was one day ploughing, an eagle alighted on his yoke, and sat there till evening. Struck by the prodigy, Gordius repaired to the Telmisseans, celebrated for their skill in augury. On reaching their first village, he met a virgin drawing water at a fountain; informed of the motive for his journey, she directed him to ascend the hill, and sacrifice to Jupiter; he invited her to accompany him, and they proceeded to the temple together. He afterwards married her, and she bore him Midas, who grew into repute for beauty and valour: Gordius is understood to have settled among the Telmisseans. About the time Midas attained manhood, Phrygia was convulsed with sedition; the inhabitants, consulting an oracle, were told that a car should soon bring them a king who would appease their tumults. While the assembly were deliberating on this answer, Midas, with his parents, arrived in the car. The Phrygians elected him king; and Midas, in gratitude to Jupiter, consecrated his father's vehicle, suspending it in the temple by a cord made of the inner rind of the cornel tree, *the* knot *of which was so nicely tied, that no eye could perceive where it began or ended.* This cause of the difficulty of untying it, which is that assigned by Arrian, seems not so reasonable as the account of Curtius: the intricacy of the knot, as described in the text, is an adequate cause.

should untie the harness, felt a vehement desire to fulfil the condition of the prophecy.

3. Round the king was a concourse of Phrygians and Macedonians: those urged by impatient expectation, these concerned at the temerity of their prince; for the series of knots was so perplexed, that it was impossible to perceive, or to infer, where it began or ended. Alexander, after a long struggle with the intricate crossings of the cord, apprehending that his failure would be regarded as an inauspicious omen, exclaimed: "It is immaterial how the "knots are loosened:" and cut them asunder with his sword, either eluding or fulfilling the terms of the oracle*.

Alexander resolved to anticipate Darius in commencing the attack, wherever the latter might be posted; and, in order to provide for the security of the places in his rear, constituted Amphoterus commander of the fleet, and Hegelochus general of the land-forces, on the coast of the Hellespont. These officers he ordered to expel the Persian garrisons from Lesbos, Chios, and Cos; confiding to their expenditure five hundred talents. To Antipater, and the superintendants of the Greek cities, he transmitted

* The followers of Alexander retired with a conviction, that he had accomplished this task for a king. Arrian says, that a seasonable thunder-storm confirmed their credulity.

six hundred talents. The Greeks, as his allies, he required to guard the Hellespont by a fleet, conformably to treaty. For, as he had not been yet apprised of the death of Memnon, that general was the chief object of his vigilance, persuaded, that if the expedition met with obstructions, they would proceed from him.

Arrived at Ancyra, Alexander now mustered his army. He, next, entered Paphlagonia: from the bordering Eneti, some believe the Venetians to have descended. The inhabitants of this whole region readily submitted to the king; giving him hostages; and he confirming the exemption from tribute, which they had enjoyed under the Persians. He committed the government of their country to Calas; and, reinforced by the recent levies from Macedon, marched into Cappadocia.

CHAP. II.

Darius musters his army near Babylon. Its force. He marches to the plains of Mesopotamia. The freedom of Charidemus, the Athenian, unwelcome to Darius, who orders his execution.

4. THE news of Memnon's death affected Darius in an intense degree, corresponding to the

magnitude of the loss. Resigning all other dependence, he determined to take the field in person. Dissatisfied with all their operations, he imputed negligence to most of the surviving generals; and he knew, unhappily, that they had been uniform in their failures. Having, therefore, pitched a camp near Babylon, in order to raise the spirits and confidence of his soldiers, he assembled them in sight of the city. Having carried a sunken trench [or pallisade] round such a space as would hold ten thousand men; he, in imitation of Xerxes, used it as a scale to number his army. From sunrise till nightfall, the battalions, according to their order in the line, kept moving into this enclosure; as they evacuated it, advancing to the plains of Mesopotamia*.

This almost innumerable multitude of horse and foot exceeded in appearance their absolute amount. Of Persians, there mustered one hundred thousand, comprising thirty thousand cavalry. The Medes consisted of ten thousand horse and fifty thousand foot. From Barcania had marched two thousand of that, and ten thousand of this description of force, alike

* The immensity of the army is strongly illustrated, by being thus, as Dr. Gillies expresses, "rather measured than numbered." The cavalry, we may suppose, dismounted before they marched in.

armed with two-edged battle-axes, and light, short, square bucklers. The Armenians contributed seven thousand cavalry and forty thousand infantry. The Hyrcanians, of high military reputation among these nations, furnished six thousand horse, The Derbices, with two thousand horse, had equipped forty thousand foot; of which, a majority carried spears pointed with iron; and the remainder, pikes of wood, hardened in the fire. From the Caspian sea there had assembled two hundred cavalry and eight thousand infantry: the Asiatics of less note, accompanying these, amounted to four thousand cavalry, and half the number of infantry. To the force already enumerated, are to be added thirty thousand Greek mercenaries, selected young men*. With regard to the Bactrians, Sogdians, and Indians; with various tribes on the borders of the Red Sea, whose names were unknown to Darius; the dispatch which the crisis demanded, would not permit him to send for them.

5. It is evident, that in numerical force the Persian monarch was not deficient. To him this vast multitude was a gratifying spectacle; and his nobles, by their habitual flatteries, so inflated his expectations, that, turning to Cha-

* The aggregate of the numbers, as given by Curtius, is 311,200.

ridemus, an Athenian, of military talents, and a personal enemy of Alexander, (Alexander had ordered his expulsion from Athens,) he inquired of him, 'Whether his preparations must not 'be judged adequate to overwhelm the enemy?' Charidemus, undazzled by the splendours of royalty, and unintimidated by the consciousness of his situation, thus replied: "Perhaps, "Sir, the truth may displease you; and yet, if "I do not impart it now, it will be in vain for "me to mention it hereafter. This army so "powerful in show, this immense assemblage "of so many different nations, comprising le- "vies from all the regions of the East, may be "formidable to the tribes under your frontiers: "its purple and gold ornaments are so dazzling, "its riches so imposing, its arms so refulgent, "that those only who have been spectators, "can frame an idea of it. But the Macedo- "nian army, however repulsive to the eye, and "unadorned, is a chain of columns, covered "with bucklers, and pointed with spears, ren- "dered immovable through the united powers "of the men. Their phalanx is a firm body of "foot; The combatants and their arms being "articulated in the closest order, every indivi- "dual contributes to support the whole. They "are disciplined to follow the colours, and fall "into the ranks at a signal. All obeying the

" word of command at the same moment, the " common soldiers, expert as the officers, halt, " wheel, extend the wings, or change the order " of battle. That you may not suppose that " they are to be seduced either by silver or " gold, I will describe their discipline in the " school of poverty: when fatigued, the ground " is their bed; with whatever food they are sup- " plied, they are contented; they sleep not af- " ter the approach of day. Now, with re- " gard to the Thessalian horse, the Acarna- " nians, and the Ætolians, they form invincible " bands; and can I believe that they are to be " repelled with slings, and wooden pikes har- " dened in the fire? No, Sir, they are to be " opposed only by vigor equal to their own; " and you should seek auxiliaries in the coun- " try which produced these men; send, there- " fore, those treasures of silver and gold to hire " thence a subsidiary army." Darius was naturally mild and open to advice, before the elevation which his fortunes experienced had corrupted his heart. Unable to bear the truth*,

* With the truth, Charidemus mixed some sophistical overcolouring; and there was much absurdity in the time and manner. When we reflect on the profligate character of the speaker, we may wonder at his plainness; the most virtuous plainness might have better served an inflated despot, by calling to its aid more grace and address, and by avoiding to overcharge the weaknesses pointed out.

he violated the laws of hospitality, and commanded his guest and suppliant, in the middle of this useful strain, to be hurried away to execution. Not deterred by this order from delivering his sentiments freely, he told the king: "I see at hand an avenger of my death; and "he, against whose interest my counsel has "been directed, will chastise thee for slighting "it; and thou, so transformed by recent ac- "cession to imperial greatness, will be an ex- "ample to succeeding ages; that men, who "allow prosperity to intoxicate them, may "forget their own nature." While he was making this declaration, the executioners cut his throat. Afterwards, the Persian monarch, repenting too late, acknowledged that the Athenian had spoken the truth, and ordered him to be buried.

CHAP. III.

Darius makes Thymodes commander of the mercenaries; and confides to Pharnabazus the defunct powers of Memnon. His dream. Order of march and pageantry of his army: contrasted with the army of Alexander.

6. TO Thymodes, the son of Mentor, a young man who had proved himself an active officer,

Darius gave a commission to receive from Pharnabazus all the foreign troops; for the king having much reliance on these, allotted them an important part in the war. He confided to Pharnabazus the extensive command and powers, which Memnon had exercised *.

Darius, whom incessant attention to important affairs agitated to extreme anxiety, was directed to the contemplation of future disasters by several dreams, occasioned either by melancholy, or by a prophetic faculty in his mind. He sees the Macedonian camp enveloped with spires of glittering flame; and soon afterwards, Alexander, introduced to him in that habit which he himself wore when chosen king: then Alexander, riding through Babylon—together with his horse, suddenly vanishes. The discordant intimations which the soothsayers drew from this vision, increased the perplexity of the Persian monarch. Some held the picture which had impressed his imagination to be auspicious, because the enemy's camp was on fire; and, because Alexander, divested of his regal attire, had been brought to him in the dress of a Persian subject. Others, construing it differently,

* Ante, p. 231, and 269.

affirmed, that the brightness of the Macedonian camp portended splendour to Alexander, who (to avow their opinion,) would be seated on the throne of Asia, because his garb was similar to that in which Darius had been saluted king. The present solicitude, on this, as on other occasions, turned awakened recollection to former presages. When Darius, at the beginning of his reign, had caused the Persian scabbard to be modelled after the Grecian form *,—the Chaldæans had prognosticated that the empire of the Persians should pass into the possession of the people whose arms were imitated.

The Persian monarch, however, became elated by his dream, when he had heard the favourable interpretation of which it was susceptible: the agreeable prediction raised upon the dream, Darius caused to be circulated among the vul-

* Some who understand the *mutari in eam* formam *qua Græci uterentur* of the original, to signify a change in the *shape* of the scabbard, not merely in its ornaments, or in the fashion of suspending it, discover a difficulty in the passage, because it then implies a similarity of length and curvature between the Persian scimitar and Grecian sword. Now, Diodorus asserts, that, after the battle of Issus, Darius ordered swords and spears of an increased length to be manufactured, because he attributed the victory of the Macedonians to the superior length of their swords. But was it a Macedonian—or a Lacedæmonian, Athenian, or Theban scabbard which Darius introduced?

gar: and ordered his army to move towards the Euphrates.

7. From remote antiquity, it was the custom of the Persians not to break up their camp till after sunrise, when a trumpet from the king's tent gave the signal: and, as a visible signal, which all might perceive, the image of the sun, [understood to be of gold,] enclosed in a crystal case, was placed upon the tent.

The army marched in this order. The fire which they call sacred and eternal, was borne in the van on silver altars. The Magi followed, singing national hymns. These were succeeded by three hundred and sixty-five youths, clothed in scarlet, answering to the number of days in the year; for the Persian year is also thus divided. Next in the procession came the chariot consecrated to Jupiter, which was drawn by white horses; and was followed by a horse of extraordinary stature and proportions, distinguished as the steed of the sun; the officers managing the horses carried golden wands, and wore white habits. At a small distance, were drawn ten chariots, with a profusion of engraved work in silver and gold. Prolonging and diversifying the train, rode the cavalry of twelve nations, each division in a peculiar costume, and with different arms. Then succeeded the corps whom the Persians name

the *Immortals* *, amounting to ten thousand: none of the Barbarians exceeded these in the pomp of superb equipment: the chains hanging from their necks, like the embroidery on their uniform, were of gold; and their SLEEVED-JACKETS † glittered with jewels. After a small space, marched an assemblage bearing the title of the *king's relations*, consisting of fifteen thousand men; this band, almost like women in their attire, among the highest for sumptuous excess, were the lowest in martial appointments. Next advanced the *Doryphori*, guarding the royal wardrobe. In their rear rolled the car of Darius, with the monarch in person, conspicuous by his elevated seat: Each side of the car was enriched with representations of the gods, cast in silver and gold; sparkling gems embossed the beam, from which sprang two statues a cubit high, formed entirely of the most valued metal, of which one presented the lineaments of Ninus, the other of Belus,—and between those figures, an auriate eagle, consecrated for the station, expanded its wings.

* Composed of the bravest and most distinguished, the corps received this name, because the members who fell were regularly succeeded by new members: its strength was never suffered to fall below the number in the text.

† In the first ages of the Roman republic, it had been considered a mark of effeminate luxury for a man to walk out with a sleeved garment.

8. Far exceeding the superb dresses of his attendants, the king's habiliments displayed sovereign magnificence. The imperial purple of his vest was relieved by white stripes; on his mantle, of which the embroidery and ornaments were of gold, were depicted two hawks flying furiously at each other. In the ladies' fashion, his girdle was auriate; and the scabbard to the depending sabre was studded with jewels. The regal costume for the head is by the Persians termed a *cidaris:* the colour of this tiara *, was the blue of the sky with summer-clouds of white.

The king was encompassed, on the right and left, by about two hundred of his nearest relatives. The royal car was followed by ten thousand spear-men, whose weapons were inlayed with silver, and pointed with gold. Now came the files of thirty thousand infantry: upon whom closed four hundred household cavalry. At the distance of one hundred and twenty-five paces, Sysigambis, the mother of Darius, appeared in the procession; and, near her, the consort of Darius, in separate chariots: the train of women waiting on the queens rode on horses.

* Curtius has not mentioned the very elevated shape of the tiara. "It is the prerogative of the king to wear an upright turban."
SPELMAN'S *Cyrus.*

Next advanced fifteen *armamaxas,* or roofed-carriages, in which were the king's children, and their tutors, with a number of eunuchs, a class not despised in Eastern countries. The line was continued by vehicles, in which were three hundred and sixty of the king's concubines, whose dress and ornaments partook of imperial grandeur. Six hundred mules, with three hundred camels, followed; bearing the king's money, under the charge of a guard of archers. Then, the wives of the relatives and friends of the sovereign. Then, columns of suttlers and camp-slaves. The light-armed troops brought up the rear. Such was the army of Darius.

Whoever surveyed the army of Alexander, in the order of march, found a different spectacle; neither the men nor the horses glittered—with gold or painted trappings, but with iron and brass. His troops were always prepared either to halt or to advance; not a crowd encumbered with baggage;—but a body attentive to the general's signal, and obedient even to his nod. The Macedonian leader was careful timely to collect supplies, and to encamp where he had sufficient room. Hence, in battle, he appeared not to want soldiers: whereas Darius, who had the absolute disposal of an immense multitude,

was rendered incapable, by the confined limits of the place where he fought, to bring into the front more than the small number which he had despised in the enemy.

CHAP. IV.

While Alexander is marching, by the camp of Cyrus, towards Cilicia, Arsanes, the Persian governor, devastates that province. Description of the defile on the north of Cilicia, and of the river Cydnus. Alexander, passing through the defile without opposition, advances to Tarsus.

9. MEANWHILE, Alexander, after having appointed Abistamenes governor of Cappadocia, leading his army towards Cilicia, had already reached the district called Cyrus's camp: so denominated * from Cyrus having encamped there, when marching into Lydia against Crœsus. It is fifty stadia distant from the defile which leads into Cilicia; this narrow passage, which the inhabitants call Pylæ [the gate], nature seems to

* Arrian's explanation of this name is to be preferred, which, in unison with Xenophon's account, makes the younger Cyrus encamp here. None of the authors, who treat of the expedition of the elder Cyrus against Crœsus, mention him to have held this course.

have so fortified, as to present an archetype to the works of man.

Upon intelligence of Alexander's approach, Arsanes, governor of Cilicia, revolving the proposition of Memnon at the beginning of the war, now executed it when the salutary plan was too late; ravaging Cilicia with fire, and ploughing it with ruin*, that the enemy might enter a desert; destroying every thing useful, that he might abandon, in unproductive nakedness, that territory which he could not defend. But it had been more judicious to have seized the pass, occupying it with a military force; and to have taken possession of the mountain commanding the road, whence he might, without difficulty or danger, have either repulsed or crushed an invader. He, however, leaving a weak company in the pass, returned to devastate that country which it was his office to protect from plunderers. This induced the party left, conceiving themselves betrayed, not even to wait till the enemy came in sight, though the post was tenable by a smaller number. For Cilicia is enclosed by a continued chain of crag-

* The original is, *igne* ferroque *Ciliciam vastat;* a current phrase must be here used inadvertently, as a commander, apprehensive of being obliged to abandon a country, though he may from policy set at work many engines of destruction, cannot be supposed to put the inhabitants to the sword.

gy and steep mountains, which rising from one part of the coast, is prolonged in the form of a bow till it reaches the margin of the sea at the opposite angle. Through this ridge there are three passes, craggy and extremely confined: in that part which, by an inland curvature, retires the farthest from the sea, on the north as it respects the province enclosed, is the pass to Cilicia*. That part of Cilicia which lies toward the sea, is level, and is watered by multiplied streams, of which the most considerable are the rivers Pyramus and Cydnus.

10. The Cydnus is not so remarkable for the breadth of its channel, as for the clearness of its water; for, descending gently from its source, it is received into a pure soil; nor do any torrents disturb it, by rushing down into its equable current:—while it flows thus, unmixed, all the way to the sea, the sensibly-cool shade of trees on each bank give it a tempe-

* The text does not exactly correspond with the original, *Per hoc dorsum*, qua maxime introrsum mari cedit, *asperi tres aditus et perangusti sunt, quorum uno Cilicia intranda est:* but the passage evidently labours under some omission; and the translator has supplied a few words, to reconcile it with Strabo and with modern maps; for each of the two remaining passes, which are not particularly pointed out by Curtius, (the streits of Amanica, leading on the East to Issus; and the streits of Syria, leading on the South to that province,) so contrary to being remote from the shore, is contiguous, and gives name to a harbour.——*See* STRABO, lib. xiv.

rature delightfully refreshing:—these are the causes of its extreme clearness and constant coldness. Though time had dissolved many ancient monuments of Cilicia, [and the neighbouring country,] of which the splendid fame survives in the poets, yet the contemplatist might still behold the ruins of the cities Lyrnessus and Thebes, or descend into the cave of Typhon. The Corycian grove is interesting to the naturalist, because it still produces saffron of superior quality: while most of the other local curiosities have only a traditional existence.

Alexander, having entered this gate to Cilicia, and examined all the advantages of the position, is represented to have expressed satisfaction and admiration at his good fortune; confessing, 'That he, with his army, might have 'been crushed by the loose masses of stone, had 'there been hands to have propelled them from 'the mountain on those passing underneath.' The avenue would scarcely admit four armed men to march abreast; the ridge of the rock hung projecting over the track, which was not only confined, but in many places broken up, by the numerous meandering rivulets which spring from the bases of the hills.

The leader of the Greeks and Macedonians, therefore, ordered the light-armed Thracians to lead the van, and to penetrate into all the ways,

lest an ambuscade of the enemy should surprize the forces marching through. He also detached a company of archers to occupy the summit of the mountain, instructing them to advance with their bows bent, not as in a march, but an engagement. In this order, he reached the city of Tarsus, which the Persians had fired, expecting that that seat of opulence must fall to the invader. But the king, who had sent Parmenio forward with a light detachment to arrest the conflagration, apprised that the enemy had fled on the approach of his men, entered the town which he had saved from destruction.

CHAP. V.

The king, bathing in the Cydnus, is seized with a sudden illness. He desires from his physicians a decisive remedy.

11. THE river Cydnus, above described, flows through this city. It was then summer; in which season, the steaming rage of the sun is no where more felt than in the sultry climate of Cilicia; and it was the hottest time of the day. The clearness of the stream invited the king to lave the sweat and dust from his over-heated

frame. Having, therefore, taken off his dress, he, in the sight of the army, (conceiving it would be a worthy trait, to show that he was satisfied with those personal accommodations which were in the reach of all,) went into the river. He had hardly entered it, when a sudden horror seized his limbs, he turned pale, the vital heat almost forsook his body. Like one expiring, he was taken out by his attendants, who carried him, in a state of insensibility, to his tent.

The camp, afflicted almost as deeply as mourners for the dead, lamented, with tears, their leader. "In the midst of a rapid course "of victory, the brightest military genius of "any age is snatched from us, losing his life— "not in battle, penetrated by the weapons of "the enemy, but bathing securely in a placid "river. Darius, who is approaching, will have "all the advantages of a conqueror without "having met his antagonist. As a vanquished "army, we must retrace our steps over those "countries which we have recently subdued. "Should no enemy harass our retreat through "tracts which we, or the Persian commanders, "have desolated, yet famine and every want "will cause us to perish in these immense un-"peopled wilds. Who will conduct our re-"turn? Who will presume to command us,

" after Alexander? Admit we reach the Helle-
" spont, who will provide a fleet to transport
" us across?" Then regretting Alexander on his own account, they exclaimed: " That flower
" of youthful kings has drooped; death hath
" silently crushed that athletic spirit, our great
" leader and companion in arms!"

12. In the meantime, the king began to breathe more freely, to open his eyes, and, by degrees recovering his senses, to know his attendants: but his malady seemed only in this particular abated, that he was conscious of its violence. The morbid state of his body oppressed his mind, when contemplating the consequences. Having received information that Darius was but five days' march from Cilicia*, this agonizing thought suggested itself, that he should be delivered, bound in the fetters of sickness, to the enemy,—that with an opportunity of complete victory in his hand, too paralysed† to grasp it, he should die obscurely and ignobly in his tent. Having summoned to his

* The information was inaccurate—or at least the languid advance of Darius tends to discredit it, as the Persian monarch was nearly two months before he reached Issus.

† The translator has exercised some freedom here; because the *tantam victoriam eripi sibi e manibus* of the original, confessedly more spirited, is too much so to agree with the other parts of this melancholy anticipation: nor does it exactly depict the situation in which Alexander would, in fact, have been.

presence as well his friends as his physicians, he spoke to this effect. "You perceive the criti- "cal situation of affairs in which fortune has "surprized me. I already hear the rattling of "the enemy's arms: and I, who have been "hitherto the assailant, am challenged by him "to the battle. When Darius transmitted those "arrogant orders *, it would appear that the "genius controuling my fortune had been of "his council,—but to no avail, if I may be "permitted to prescribe for myself. My case "requires neither tardy remedies, nor timo- "rous physicians: Though I were to die from "a decisive course, it were better than to reco- "ver slowly; therefore, if the medical art has "any powerful resources, let my friends who "profess it understand, that I do not seek so "much an escape from dissolution, as a remedy "for the stagnating war." This impatient te- merity struck all his attendants with concern, which made each personally entreat of the king, 'That he would not aggravate his danger, by 'precipitation, but conform to the directions of 'his physicians;' adding, 'that there was cause 'to suspect untried remedies, since the enemy 'had employed the temptation of money upon 'his domestics for his destruction;' (Darius

* See ante, p. 191.

had offered, by proclamation, a thousand talents to that man who should kill Alexander;) 'on 'which account, they did not believe, that any 'person would venture to make trial of a pre-'paration, which, by its novelty, might excite 'distrust.'

CHAP. VI.

Interesting scene between Alexander and his physician, Philip. The king recovers. The army's attachment to him displayed.

13. AMONG the eminent physicians in the train of Alexander, was Philip of Acarnania, whom genuine friendship and intense loyalty attached to his master: having had the charge of the prince's health, when a child, he loved Alexander not merely as his king, but as his foster-son. This man undertook to compound a medicine, not too violent, but possessing sufficient activity to expel the disease. This promise pleased no one, but him at whose hazard it was to be performed:—he preferred all extremities to delay; the Persians drawn up for battle were before his eyes, and he considered that, to obtain victory, he need merely take his station before the Macedonian colours:—that

part of the communication which he heard with dissatisfaction was, for this the physician added, "Before it will be proper to administer the "draught, three days must elapse."

In the meantime the king receives a letter from Parmenio, among his purpled * chiefs the highest in his confidence, admonishing him not to entrust the care of his health with Philip; for that Darius had corrupted him, by promising him a thousand talents, and by amusing him with the expectation of his daughter in marriage. This intimation made the king's mind the seat of anxiety and perplexity: he balanced within himself the suggestions of suspicion and the motives to confidence: "Shall I "persevere in the determination to take the "preparation—should it be charged with poi- "son, shall I not be deemed to deserve the re- "sult? Are not there grounds to distrust "the fidelity of my physician? But shall I "linger here, that Darius may crush me in my "tent? It is nobler for Alexander to die by "another's perfidy, than through his own diffi- "dence." Long did clashing surmises and reasonings fill the king's divided mind. Without revealing to any one the contents of the letter,

* It appears that Alexander allowed to some of his governors and captains the distinction of wearing purple, which was usually confined to kings.

he sealed it with his ring and laid it under his pillow.

14. After two days of doubt and agitation, dawned the morning appointed by the physician. Philip entered, bearing the cup which the last resources of pharmacy had impregnated with decision. Alexander, seeing him, raised himself upon his elbow, and holding Parmenio's letter in his left hand, took the mixture, and drank it off with composure: he, then, gave the letter to the suspected physician, who read it by his desire,—Alexander closely observing his countenance, persuaded that, if he were a traitor, he should there detect conscience writhing with guilt. Philip, having read the letter, displayed more indignation than fear; and, flinging down his cloak with the letter at the bed-side, he said: "Sir! my life has always de- "pended on your Majesty; but now, the breath "which passes those sacred lips is the vital "breath of us both. As for the treason charged "against me, your recovery will acquit me. "When I shall have saved your life, I appeal "to your goodness to continue mine. In the "meantime, suffer the potion to diffuse itself "through your veins; and, dismissing all dis- "trust, recal cheerfulness to your mind, which "the unseasonable anxiety and officious zeal of "your friends have disturbed." This speech

not only restored the king to composure, but raised his spirits and renewed his hopes. He answered: "If the gods, Philip! had granted "thee a test of my disposition towards thee, "thou wouldst have chosen some other: but "thou couldst not have wished for a more de- "cisive proof of my confidence: notwithstand- "ing the letter, you have seen me take your "preparation; and, be assured, that I wait the "effect, not less solicitous that it may vindi- "cate your fidelity, than that it may conduce "to my recovery." Having thus said, the hero gave the physician his hand.

15. As soon as the medicine began to operate, alarming symptoms in the patient seemed to countenance Parmenio's accusation. Alexander swooned; his respiration became difficult, and scarcely proceeded: The attentive physician omitted no application that his skill suggested: with fomentations, he sought to awaken the irritability of the body; with the odour of meats and wine, he invited back the senses. When he perceived the king returning to himself, he reminded him of his mother and sisters, and introduced the animating subject of the great approaching victory.

When the penetrating mixture had circulated through the veins of Alexander, and extended its effects to every part of his frame,

there succeeded evident indications of returning health. First his mind resumed its vigor; then his body, in the progress of recovery, exceeded expectation. In three days' time he showed himself to the army; gratified to see him, nor less eager to behold Philip, whom every one pressed by the hand, and thanked as a divinity.

Besides the national veneration for the monarch, which was a characteristic of the Macedonians, they had a personal admiration and love for Alexander, which language is inadequate to describe. A principal ground of that admiration was,—that he appeared to have embarked in no undertaking without the assistance of the Deity; and as victory had attended his enterprizes, his temerity had contributed to his glory. In addition to this, his immature age, which, previous to his great actions, had been naturally deemed unequal to such performances, reflected on them the greater lustre. Other traits, less dazzling, had endeared him to the soldiers in the ranks; his performance of gymnastic exercises in the midst of them; his moderation in apparel, and in the accommodations for his individual lodging, and refreshment, little superior to those of the private men; his martial vigor and hardihood. These gifts from nature, or acquisitions from educa-

tion, held the hearts of the army to Alexander, by bands, in which love and respect were equally interwoven.

CHAP. VII.

Darius advances toward Cilicia. Festivals in honour of Alexander's recovery. Victory in Caria. Parmenio returns from a successful expedition to Issus: the army marches thither. Catastrophe of Sisines.

16. DARIUS, informed of Alexander's indisposition, moved with as much expedition as his immense army would permit, to the banks of the Euphrates: having laid bridges over that river, in five days he had conveyed his forces across, hastening to anticipate Alexander in Cilicia.

But Alexander, with restored health and vigor, had reached the city Solæ: [Solon:] having reduced it, he levied a contribution of two hundred talents, and placed a garrison in the citadel. Here, in discharge of vows offered on account of his recovery, he devoted an interval to sports and festivities, in honour of Æsculapius and Minerva: this security displayed his

contempt for the Barbarians. While celebrating these pageantries, he is gratified by intelligence from Halicarnassus, that the Persians had been defeated by his lieutenant, and that the inhabitants of Myndus and Caunus, and of several other districts of Caria, had submitted to his government.

The series of games and spectacles being completed, he broke up his camp; and having thrown a bridge over the Pyramus, advanced to Mallos. From this city he proceeded to that of Castabala, where he was joined by Parmenio, whom he had detached* to examine the pass of the forest, through which he was to penetrate to the city Issus. Parmenio, having seized this streit †, which he left in charge of a competent force, had proceeded to occupy Issus, which the inhabitants had abandoned: then advancing further, he dislodged the fugitives from their strong recesses in the mountains:—Having secured all the posts by garrisons, and by a guard at the defile, he returned to Alexander, both the achiever and the herald of these successes.

17. Hereupon the king led the army to Issus, where he debated, in council, whether it

* It would appear that he sent out this detachment while he was confined by sickness; which, according to Arrian, interrupted not these subordinate operations.

† That of Amanus, leading eastward to Syria.

behoved him to prosecute his march, or await there the junction of the new levies hourly expected from Macedon. Parmenio declared it to be his opinion, 'That Alexander could not select a more eligible position to give battle in, since it would reduce the forces of both kings to an equality, as the streits denied passage to a multitude. That it concerned the Macedonians to avoid plains and open levels, where they might be surrounded, and crushed by an attack at once on the front and rear. In that case, he did not apprehend that their defeat would be the effect of bravery in the enemy, but of fatigue in themselves; for the Persians, in a spacious field, could be incessantly relieved by fresh troops.' Counsel of this sage and salutary character was readily entertained: therefore Alexander determined to wait at the pass of the *forest** for the enemy.

There was in the Macedonian army a Persian, named Sisines, whom the governor of Egypt had formerly employed on a mission to Philip. This man, being courted by gifts and

* Otherwise called the pass of Amanus. Subsequently, however, he changed his feature of the plan, without departing from its spirit or principle: Alexander was penetrating into Southern Syria, by the pass called the gates of Syria or Cilicia, when Darius reached the defile of Amanus and the city of Issus: both which the Persians found abandoned, or feebly defended, by the Macedonians.—See below, chap. viii.

promotions, abjured his native connections, and settled in Macedon. In the expedition against Asia, attending Alexander,—he was treated by the king as one of his companions and confidants. To him a Cretan soldier delivered a letter, sealed with an unknown seal: Nabarzanes, a satrap of Darius, in this communication, exhorted Sisines "To do something worthy his quality and merit; something that "should entitle him to high dignities at the "Persian court." Sisines, pure and loyal in intention, had often endeavoured to show the letter to Alexander: but finding him always engaged in important affairs, and in preparations for the approaching action, he awaited a convenient interview: this delay created a suspicion that he was the instrument of a foreign plot. For the letter had first reached the hands of Alexander, who, having read it, sealed it with an unknown seal, and desired that it should be delivered to Sisines, employing it as a test of his fidelity. The Persian courtier, not presenting himself for a series of days, was considered to suppress the letter from an unpardonable motive; and he was killed in his quarters by the Cretan band, no doubt under the orders of Alexander.

CHAP. VIII.

Darius rejects the advice of the Greek mercenaries. The Persians pass the streits of Amanus, while the Macedonians penetrate those of Syria. Darius pursues. Alexander marches to meet Darius. Terror of the Persians. Military dispositions of Darius in part described.

18. THE Greek mercenaries, on whom Darius founded his principal, almost his sole expectations, transferred from the command of Pharnabazus to that of Thymodes, had now arrived in his camp*. Officers of consideration among these, endeavoured to prevail upon him, 'To 'retire, and gain the spacious plains of Meso-'potamia: or, if he rejected that advice, at 'least to divide his immense army, nor expose 'the embodied energies of his empire to be 'crushed in one battle, or scattered, never 'again to be collected.' These propositions were not so ill received by the king, as by his nobles. They urged, 'The duplicity, venality, 'and perfidy of the Greeks; which made it pe-'rilous to act from their suggestions. They

* Arrian states, that they marched from Tripolis, whither a fleet had sailed with them from Greece.

'had recommended a partition of the forces, 'that they might deliver up to Alexander that 'army, which should devolve to their separate 'management. And no measure of defence 'would avail more, than to surround them 'with all the Persian troops, and cut them in 'pieces, as a warning to traitors.' To this, Darius, not insensible to the sanctions of humanity and religion, replied: "I abhor so flagitious an act, as the massacre of men relying on my protection, and engaged in my service. What foreign state would hereafter trust me with the lives of its citizens, were I to stain my hands with the blood of so many soldiers? Weak advice ought not to be visited as a capital crime: if to deliver an opinion be rendered so dangerous, we shall have no counsellors. Among you, whom I every day summon round me, for your sentiments, I find advocates of opposite measures; nor do I regard those whose propositions are most judicious, as better affected to me than their colleagues, whose propositions I reject." Then Darius ordered the following answer to be returned, in his name, to the Greeks: 'That the 'king thanked them for their good dispositions 'towards him: but, with regard to a retrograde 'march, its effect would be to transfer his king-'dom to the invader. That military operations

'depend greatly on reputation; and he who 'withdraws, is considered to fly. That to endeavour to protract * the war, were a species 'of folly; because the winter was approaching, 'when it would be impossible to provide food 'for his immense army in a desolate country, 'alternately wasted by his own troops, and by 'the enemy. That to divide his forces, were 'contrary to the practice of his ancestors, who 'always brought out their whole strength when 'they hazarded a battle. And, in fact, the Macedonian, previously so formidable, at a distance swelling with airy confidence, now he 'perceived Darius to be at hand, had resigned 'his temerity for caution; lurking in the defiles of the forest, like those beasts, at once 'untamed and abject; who, on hearing the advance of passengers, steal in woods to their 'dark holes:—even now, counterfeiting sickness, he was deluding his own soldiers. But 'he should not longer refuse to fight, for Darius would seize him in the den to which his 'fainting heart had carried him for delay.' These magnificent vauntings had a frail foundation.

* While this answer of the ministers, in the name of Darius, embraces topics not touched in the proposal of the Greeks,—the essential suggestion, the policy of making a level country the seat of war, receives no reply.

19. Darius, having sent all his money, and the treasures which he most prized, under a moderate escort, to Damascus, in Syria, marched with the rest of his army into Cilicia; his consort and mother following with the rear-guard, according to the Persian usage: his daughters, also, and little boy, were in the train. It happened, that the Persian forces came to the streits of Amanus, on the same night that Alexander reached the streits which lead into Syria*. The Persians confidently concluded, that the Macedonians were on the retreat,—because the latter had abandoned their recent conquest, Issus,—and because the former surprised, under a feeble guard, some sick and wounded individuals of Alexander's army, who were not able to proceed with it. Darius, at the instigation of his nobles, exercising the vengeance of a savage, caused the hands of the prisoners to be cut off: then, with the wounds seared, he ordered them to be led round his camp, that they might survey his forces, and, having thoroughly observed every thing, report to Alexander what they had seen.

Darius, moving to a new encampment, passed the river Pinarus, in order to strike at the rear of the Macedonians, whom he imagined to

* See ante, p. 304, n.

be in full retreat. Meanwhile, the soldiers whom the Barbarians had mutilated, arriving in the camp of Alexander, inform him that Darius is pursuing the track of the Macedonians with impetuous steps. The king could not fully credit the information; he therefore dispatched a small reconnoitring party coastwise*, to examine whether Darius had reached the neighbourhood of Issus in person, or whether one of his satraps were not causing a demonstration, to be taken for the advance of the whole army. But by the time the reconnoitring party had returned, the extended multitude could be seen at a distance. Soon afterwards, fires were kindled throughout the Persian camp, which had the appearance of a general conflagration: The space over which the irregular mass had spread themselves, was the more dilated on account of their cattle.

Hereupon Alexander ordered his forces to encamp in their present position†; exulting over the prospect of an action in those streits, the object which he had devoutly desired.

20. It is not uncommon for the most sanguine to feel a moment of anxiety, when a decision which deeply concerns them is on the eve

* We learn from Arrian, that they went in a trireme.

† On the Syrian side of the chain of mountains, having just past the defile. Darius may be contemplated as imprisoned in Cilicia.

of being pronounced. Such was now the case with Alexander. Of fortune, under whose wings he had been wafted to such a height of prosperity, he became diffident—and not entirely without reason; for the possessions which she had transferred to him reminded him of her fickleness. The reflection occurred: "Only the cur-" tain of a night hangs before the event of the " mighty conflict." Then he revolved the fortifying considerations: "The prize far out-" weighs the danger. Whether I shall conquer " is doubtful — — this is certain, that if I fall, " it will be worthily, and my memory will be " embalmed."

The leader of the Greeks and Macedonians gave a general order to the troops to refresh themselves, and afterwards, at the third watch *, to be at their stations, armed and in marching order.

Meanwhile, he ascended the summit of a lofty mountain, by torch-light, and there offered sacrifices, according to the rites of his country, to the local genii or deities †.

* The ancients divided the night into four parts, equal with each other, but varying in length, according to the season; and because among military bodies, guard was mounted during each of these divisions, they received the name of watches; the third watch began at midnight.

† It was a received opinion among the Greeks, that every place had one divinity, or a plurality of divinities, peculiarly presiding over it.

Now the trumpet a third time resounded, the appointed signal; the army stood prepared to march or to engage. The command was, to march in the quickest time; and, at the rising dawn, they had gained the streits which their leader destined them to occupy. The advanced videttes now reported, that Darius was distant but thirty stadia. Alexander commanded the troops to halt, and, having put on his armour, drew up his army in order of battle.

21. Darius, to whom the affrighted peasants communicated the arrival of Alexander, with difficulty credited that the fugitives whom he was pursuing had come to intercept him. The unexpected meeting appals his soldiers, who were better prepared for marching than for action: they start to take their weapons; but the precipitate bustle with which they run to and fro, in obedience to the incessant cry of "to "arms!" propagates their increasing terrors: Some individuals climb one of the heights in the chain, thence to view the enemy; numbers are bridling their horses. This incongruous army, not moving by orders emanating from a general leader, was convulsed with agitation and tumult.

The first determination of Darius was to occupy the ridge of the mountain with part of his forces, in order to attack the enemy as well on the rear as in front: From a station along the

sea-side, which covered the extremity of his right-wing, he proposed that another body should take the enemy in flank: Moreover, twenty thousand archers were sent forward with orders to pass * the Pinarus, whose stream separated the two armies, and charge the invaders; —or, if that were found impracticable, to retire † to the mountains, and thence steal upon the enemy's rear. But fortune, which triumphs over human arrangements, rendered abortive his most able dispositions: some divisions of his army, from cowardice, disobeyed his orders, and some executed them to no effect; for where the parts fail, the whole is disconcerted.

* From Arrian it may be collected, that these archers did not pass the river, or passed and returned; joined by thirty thousand cavalry, they, in a position on its hither bank, in vain opposed the passage of the Macedonians, notwithstanding the bank was craggy along a great part of the line, and in other places the Persians were defended by an entrenchment.

† According to Arrian, it was another body, of twenty thousand, who were instructed to occupy the mountain on which is the source of the Pinarus, whence they were to gall the right-wing, and, as far as it could be effected, the rear of Alexander.

CHAP. IX.

Order of battle of the Persian main army. Alexander's order of battle. Unsteady conduct of Persian partizans on the heights. Macedonian order of march through the defile.

22. THE following was the Persian order of battle*. In the right wing† was Nabarzanes with his cavalry, and about twenty thousand slingers and archers:—this part of the line was strengthened by thirty thousand Greek mercenaries commanded by Thymodes; these were, indisputably, the main pillar of the Persian army, and equal to the Macedonian phalanx. In the left, Aristomedes the Thessalian directed twenty thousand Barbarian infantry; behind these, levies from the most warlike nations formed a reserve:—In this part of the line‡, the king in person, attended by three thousand cho-

* The troops mentioned in the preceding section seem to have been a surplus force, which, not having room to form with the body of the army, Darius distributed on surrounding points, ready to take advantage of circumstances

† It will prepare the reader to understand the description, to be apprised that Curtius here speaks only of two wings, which being prolonged till they meet, absorb the centre.

‡ Arrian places the king in the centre, according to the ancient Persian custom; but as one third of the left [see the last note] belongs to the centre, both accounts may be reconciled.

sen horse, his usual body-guard, led forty thousand foot:—Near them were posted the Hyrcanians and Medes, with cavalry from the remaining nations disposed on their right and left.

Before the army, thus drawn up, there was a vanguard of six thousand archers and slingers. Every opening in these streits where men could be introduced, was filled with troops. The army of Darius, with its right-wing touching the sea, extended its left to the chain of mountains.

23. Alexander stationed the phalanx (the Macedonians had no description of force on which they more depended,) in the van. Nicanor, the son of Parmenio, commanded on the right:—near him, in succession, were stationed Cænos, and Perdiccas, and Meleager, and Ptolemy, and Amyntas, with their respective corps. The left wing, which extended *toward* the sea, was directed by Craterus and Parmenio; but Craterus had orders to obey Parmenio. The cavalry covered the flanks, of which they formed the extremities; the Macedonians, with the Thessalians, were on the right; the Peloponnesians, on the left. Before the main army there was an advanced guard of slingers, interspersed with archers, supported by the Thracians and Cretans, who were also lightly armed.

The Agrians, who, trained in Greece, had lately joined, were instructed to keep in check

those whom Darius had sent forward to occupy the heights. The king had ordered Parmenio to extend his lines as far as he could toward the sea, the farther to remove the army from the heights in the possession of the Barbarians. The latter neither opposed the Agrians when approaching, nor ventured to surround them when they had passed, but fled in consternation on the first appearance of the slingers: their infirmity of conduct rendered secure the flank of the Macedonians, which Alexander had been greatly apprehensive would suffer from exposure to the impending stations of the enemy.

The army marched [by its flank] thirty-two in a file, while the confined entrance of the streits would not admit a wider column: as the avenue gradually expanded, the infantry were enabled to march with extended ranks, and at length the cavalry spread out into their places on the wings.

CHAP. X.

The armies in sight, Alexander restrains his men from marching too eagerly. His address to the different national bodies in his army.

24. THE two armies, now mutually in view, were yet beyond the range of each other's ar-

rows; when the van * of the Persians made a ferocious shouting; but not in unison, so as to produce the effect of a volley. The burst of acclamation returned by the Macedonians was so imposing, as to appear to come from an army superior * in number; the Macedonians, deeper embosomed in the woods and forests of the scene, were indeed more assisted by the local echoes, which reverberate and multiply every sound.

Proceeding in the front with the colours, Alexander with his hand repeatedly made signs to his men, to restrain their impatient steps, lest, at the critical moment of coming up with the enemy, their accelerated respiration, interrupted and exhausted, should disable them from making a vigorous charge. Then, riding along the line, he delivered addresses to the troops,

* "Van of the Persians." The original is *priores Persæ*. Many commentators have, in this paragraph, discovered a difficulty on account of the acclamations of the Macedonians being represented as the loudest; and have therefore been willing, by supposed emendations, to reconcile the account with that of Diodorus Siculus, [lib. xvii.] which makes the Macedonians first cheer. By understanding *priores Persæ*, which would appear to have been habitually construed "the Persians first," rather as a phrase, not indeed very military, for the "van of the Persians," an additional cause is gained why the shout from the smaller army should exceed in deepness and fulness; which, with the other causes in the text, seem quite equal to the effect. Indeed, if the power and intenseness of the two volleys of sound had corresponded with the size of the two armies, the circumstance would have been too common to merit notice.

accommodated to the views and prepossessions of the several national corps. 'He reminded 'the Macedonians of their established bravery, 'which had made them the victors in so many 'wars in Europe, and which had assembled 'them under his standard, with volunteering 'zeal, ardent as his own, to subdue Asia, and 'the remote countries of the East. That, des-'tined to deliver the world, having penetrated 'beyond the conquests of Hercules and Bac-'chus, they were to found an empire, embra-'cing not the Persians only, but all nations: 'Among their possessions would be Bactriana 'and India. That their immediate prospect 'was inconsiderable: but victory had every 'prize in store. That the craggy rocks of Il-'lyricum, and the sterile tracts of Thrace, were 'not to be the reward of their achievements: 'the rich East offered her spoils. That they 'would find it scarcely necessary to exercise their 'swords; for that the ranks of the enemy, fal-'tering and alarmed, might be driven with their 'bucklers. He apostrophized his father Philip 'the conqueror of the Athenians; he brought 'into review their recent conquest, and destruc-'tion, of the celebrated city of Thebes; he di-'rected their recollection to the battle of the 'Granicus, and to the numberless Asiatic towns 'which had been reduced, or had submitted;

'in fine, all the countries in their rear lay pros-
'trate under Macedonian lieutenants.' Having then proceeded to the columns of the Greeks, Alexander represented, 'That the army in view,
'were the Barbarians who had made war upon
'Greece: he adverted to the insolence, first of
'Darius, [Hystaspes,] and afterwards of Xerxes,
'who exhausted and devastated all their *water*
'*and land**, leaving them neither flowing foun-
'tains, nor provisions. He desired them to
'keep in mind, that hordes of Persians had
'over-run and plundered their cities, and had
'subverted and consigned to flames the temples
'of their gods.' But the Macedonian leader, when he had reached that part of the line which consisted of Illyrians and Thracians, who were accustomed to live by rapine, thus spoke: "Be-
"hold the army of the enemy! How the bos-
"ses of gold glitter on their purple mantles,
"carrying not armour, but a rich booty! As
"men, advance and rifle those weak women of
"their gold. Exchange your rugged piles of
"rock, and barren heights, cold and pale with
"eternal frost, for the luxuriant plains and
"fields of Persia."

* An allusion to the tribute of earth and water which the Persian monarchs arrogantly required from the Greeks, as a symbol of obedience.

CHAP. XI.

The battle of Issus. The wife and children of Darius are taken captive.

25. THE armies had approached within the range of each other's darts,— when the Persian cavalry furiously charged the left wing of the enemy; for Darius was desirous to decide the affair by the horse, sensible that the phalanx was the grand dependance of the Macedonians. At the same time, the right wing of Alexander was on the point of being surrounded*: Alexander, perceiving this, while he left two squadrons to continue guarding the acclivity of the mountain, adroitly removed the others into the midst of the conflict. Then detaching from his line the Thessalian cavalry, he directed their commander to conduct them, by the most private road, to the rear of the

Olymp. cxi. 4. *A. C.* 333. *Ætat. Alex.* 24. *Reg.* 4.

* It has been related in chap. ix. sect. 23, that a Persian detachment, occupying some height in the chain, which menaced Alexander's flank *while marching up to engage*, was dispersed: but that does not affect the circumstance of Alexander's right being nearly surrounded when it reached the more open space where the battle took place; for the main army of Darius, by its disproportionate superiority, must have greatly outflanked the Macedonians.

army, there to effect a junction with Parmenio, and promptly to execute his orders.

Now the Macedonian forces, almost enclosed by the Persians, who had spread themselves on every side, intrepidly maintained their ground. They * stood, however, so closely locked together, that they could not cast their darts with freedom: the darts, discharged at the same moment, met, intermingled, in the air, whence they fell, a few upon the enemy with feeble effect, the greater part innocuous upon the ground. Therefore, the Macedonians gallantly drew their swords, and engaged the Persians in a close fight. Then it was that blood was prodigally spilt: in such close contact are the hostile lines, that their thrusting and parrying swords strike together; and they direct the points into each other's faces. Neither the cowardly nor the imbecile can practise any illusion: foot to foot, each fights as in a duel, not moving from the spot, till by the death of his antagonist he opens a way. When thus enabled

* The Macedonian heavy infantry, or phalanx. The severe engagement which ensues, appears, from Arrian, to have been with the Persian Greek mercenaries. The latter perceiving, that, by the rapidity of an assault which Alexander had directed against the Barbarians, his right had separated from the centre, rushed into the interval where the phalanx was disjointed. This desperate conflict proved fatal to Ptolemy the son of Seleucus, and one hundred and twenty officers of distinction.

to advance, the fatigued combatant is assailed by a fresh enemy. Nor can the wounded, as is customary, retire from the ranks; for while the enemy press them in front, their own men lock them in on the rear.

26. Alexander did not discharge the office of a general better than he acquitted himself as a combatant, ambitious of killing Darius with his own hand. The conspicuous height at which Darius was seated in his lofty car, animated his Persians to defend, while it provoked the Macedonians to attack him. Hence, Oxathres, the brother of the Persian monarch, perceiving that Alexander was penetrating in that direction, interposed, before the royal car, the cavalry which he commanded: He was not more conspicuous for the refulgency of his armour, than eminent for his vigorous frame, consummate courage, and loyal affection: he acted a distinguished part in defence of the king, striking down assailants who rushed on with temerity, and forcing the cautious to fly. But the Macedonians, who encircled Alexander, so exhorted and supported each other, that, with their leader, they at length broke into the column of the enemy's cavalry: then began the triumph of remorseless slaughter; empurpled nobles of the highest rank were strewed round the chariot of Darius, having received a glori-

ous death in the presence of their king: in their stations they had fallen fighting, all their wounds being in the forepart of their body. Among them might be recognized Atizyes; and Rheomithres; with Sabaces, satrap of Egypt; who had respectively commanded powerful armies: heaps of infantry and cavalry, of less illustrious rank, or obscure condition, surrounded them.

In this part of the field, the Macedonians slain or disabled, were not numerous: but they were the most bold and enterprizing men: Alexander was wounded in the right thigh with a sword.

27. The horses yoked to the royal car, pierced with lances, and raging in consequence of the anguish, shattered the yoke* by their plungings, and were on the point of dashing Darius from his unsteady seat,—when he, apprehensive that he should fall alive into the hands of the enemy, leaped down, and mounted a horse which had been held in readiness, ingloriously divesting himself of his arms and the ensigns of his dignity†, lest they should betray him in his flight. Then the remainder of the Persians, in consternation, dispersed, by what-

* *Jugum*, which occasionally signifies the HARNESS, perhaps should here be translated the TRANSVERSE DRAFT-BEAM. See a note on book IV. chap. ix. 34.

† His shield, his mantle, and his bow.

ever route offered escape; every one casting away the armour which he had taken for defence: Thus terror abandons the means of safety.

Parmenio detached a body of horse to pursue the fugitives; for it happened that these had all urged their course by his wing. On the Macedonian right-wing, however, the Persians had severely pressed the Thessalian cavalry, and had, by an impetuous shock, broke the line on one flank: but the Thessalians, wheeling about and rallying, returned to the attack, and routed, with excessive slaughter, the Barbarians, who, in the security of victory, had dilated in disorder. The Persian horses being loaded with plates of armour, as well as the riders, their heavy squadrons could not form again with sufficient celerity; while wheeling, many were killed by the Thessalians.

As soon as Alexander was informed, that success on this flank completed the victory, he commenced a pursuit, which he did not before deem judicious. He had at hand no more than a thousand horse to lead on this service: but they made a prodigious slaughter of the enemy: But who, either in a victory or flight, counts and balances the forces? The fugitives were, therefore, driven by this handful of men, like so many sheep; and the panic which prompted their tumultuary haste, obstructed their escape.

28. The Greek division of the Persian army, under the command of Amyntas, a lieutenant of Alexander, who had gone over to Darius, separating themselves from the rest, retreated in good order*.

The Barbarians [who had been opposed to the Macedonian right-wing] sought safety in various directions: some fled by the direct road to Persia; some, taking a circuit, repaired to the rocky cliffs, and woody recesses, of the mountains; a small division penetrated to the camp of Darius,—but the enemy had anticipated them. The Macedonians found in the Persian camp every description of riches. Immense quantities of silver and gold articles, serving for the purposes of luxury rather than of war, formed part of the booty†. As the plunder of the soldiers accumulated, they lightened themselves, by strewing the roads with packages of treasure, disdained by their avarice as worthless, as soon as greater prizes could be seized. The lawless

* Though they might, in the first instance, retire with Amyntas, they subsequently dispersed. Four thousand joined Darius; [see book IV. sect. 1;] Amyntas carried four thousand into Egypt; [see book IV. sect. 5;] Eight thousand reached the sea-coast, through Cilicia, and returned to Greece.—See book IV. sect. 6.

† The camp contained in money but three thousand talents, a great proportion of the magnificent treasures of Darius having been removed, previous to the battle, to Damascus.—Gillies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.—See ante, p. 309.

conquerors had now reached that part of the camp appropriated to the women: the more superbly the Persian ladies were habited, the more outrageously were they stripped of their ornaments; nor were their persons exempted from the violations of lust. Passionate shrieks of terror and lamentation resounded through the camp, expressing every variety of distress and calamity, amid the perpetration of every kind of atrocity; for to every rank and age did the wild licentiousness and cruelty of the victors extend.

In the scene stood a striking proof of the versatility of fortune; for the domestics of Darius, who had decorated his tent in all the Persian luxury and magnificence, these same domestics kept it prepared for the reception of Alexander, as though they had been old servants in his household. This was the only thing which the soldiers left untouched, in compliance with an ancient custom of preserving the tent of the vanquished monarch for the victor.

29. But those imperial captives, the mother and wife of Darius, awakened the sympathies of all the spectators. The age and the majestic deportment of the former made her doubly venerable; the latter gained the homage of the heart by her beauty, which, under the unfavourable

influence of calamity, was still transcendant. She supported on her lap her little son, not six years old, the heir so lately of that immense empire which his father had lost. The daughters of Darius, two blooming marriageable virgins, leaned on the bosom of their grandmother, deeply afflicted by the misfortunes which involved her with themselves. Round the queens and princesses stood a circle of noble ladies, with their hair torn, and with the splendours and ornaments of dress laid aside, calling upon the queens, by the titles " majesty" and " so- " vereign," which had ceased to belong to their condition. The queens themselves, unmindful of their own disaster, impatiently inquired in which wing Darius had fought, and with what degree of success? denying that they were prisoners, if the king were safe.

At this time, Darius, who repeatedly changed horses, had proceeded in his flight to a great distance.

Of the Persians, there fell in this action one hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse. On Alexander's side, there were [two hundred and*] thirty-two infantry killed, five hundred and four infantry wounded; one hun-

* See ante, p. 321. n. Diodorus makes the infantry slain amount to three hundred.

dred and fifty cavalry killed. At so small a price did Alexander obtain this eminent victory.

CHAP. XII.

Alexander's banquet interrupted by an alarm among the royal prisoners. Alexander buries the slain. Visits the captive queens.

30. ALEXANDER, fatigued by a protracted pursuit after Darius, finding that night approached, and despairing of overtaking him, returned, and entered the camp of which his men had just before taken possession. The king invited his most intimate friends to a banquet, at which the wound in his thigh, being but skin-deep, did not prevent him from being present. In the middle of the entertainment, the convivials were disturbed by a sudden burst of dreadful lamentations from a neighbouring tent, mixed with dissonant and dismal shriekings. The band that kept guard at the king's tent, supposing it to be the prelude to a greater commotion, took to their arms. The cause of alarm was this: the piercing groans and wailings escaped from the mother and wife

of Darius, and the other captive ladies, under an impression that he was slain; for an eunuch, taken prisoner, standing by accident before their tent, when a Macedonian soldier carried along the mantle of Darius, (thrown off by Darius in his flight, lest it should betray him,) recognized the habiliment, and concluding that his royal master was no more, reported his melancholy surmise, to the queens, as a fact. Alexander, informed of the mistake of the ladies, is represented to have shed tears, commiserating the fate of Darius, and sympathizing with the affection of his family. As a herald to the queens of consoling news, he at first selected Mithrenes, (who had surrendered Sardis,) on account of his superior knowledge of the Persian language; then, reflecting that the sight of this traitor might awaken indignation in them, and aggravate their grief, he dispatched Leonatus, one of his nobles, to convey them an assurance, that Darius, whom they lamented, was living. Leonatus, with a few of Alexander's body-guards, proceeded to the tent of the royal captives, and announced that he was the bearer of a message from the king. The domestics who waited at the entry of the tent, perceiving the armed attendants of Leonatus, concluded that a tragical doom awaited their mistresses, and ran into the tent, exclaiming

that their last hour was come, for the king had sent soldiers to kill them. The queens, neither capable of resisting, nor of summoning resolution to meet executioners, gave no answer, but in silence expected the will of the conqueror. Leonatus, after having waited a long time for some person to introduce him, when he found no one durst come out, left his attendants in the front, and entered the tent alone. The apprehensions of the ladies were confirmed by his rushing in, uncalled. The mother and the consort of Darius, falling at his feet, implored permission to bury the corpse of Darius according to the solemnities of their country, before their lives were taken away; telling him, that when they had rendered the last duty of humanity to their king, they should be ready to die. Leonatus answered, that Darius was living, and that, with respect to themselves, they were secure of protection, and of being treated as queens, without any diminution of their former grandeur. Then the mother of Darius suffered herself to be raised.

31. On the following day, Alexander interred, with funereal rites, those of his soldiers whose bodies had been found: he directed the same respect to be shown to the Persians of highest distinction among the slain; permitting the mother of Darius to bury such as she

chose, according to the manner of her country. Sisygambis exercised this privilege in the sepulture of a few of her relatives, in which she was regulated by her present condition, apprehending that the more splendid style in which the Persians solemnize funerals, might be regarded invidiously by the conquerors, whom she observed to bury their dead with comparatively little ceremony.

Having finished the charities due to the departed, Alexander apprised the captive queens, by a messenger, that he was coming to attend them as a visitor. Leaving his retinue without, he entered the tent with Hephæstion only. Of all his friends, this officer was the highest in his affection; educated with him, the depositary of his secrets. He, alone, was allowed by Alexander to address him in the free and candid language of a monitor; a liberty which he so exercised, that it seemed rather to be conferred by Alexander than assumed by himself. Of equal age with the king, he excelled him in a beautiful exterior. Therefore the queens, supposing him to be the king*, paid him the homage customary in the East. Now, one of the eunuchs, sensible of the impropriety, showed Sisygambis which was Alexander. She, pros-

* From Arrian we learn, that their dress was alike.

trating herself at his feet, apologized for 'a mis-
'take which had resulted from ignorance: she
'had never before seen his majesty.' The king, lifting her up, replied: "You committed no "mistake, my revered mother! Hephæstion "likewise is Alexander."

32. If the Macedonian hero had preserved the same moderation to the end of his life,—I should have esteemed him to enjoy more internal satisfaction than he felt, when, with every exterior sign of happiness, he imitated the triumph of Bacchus, after a victorious career through all the regions from the Hellespont to the [Indian] ocean: — — Then he would have subdued his pride and his anger, which became invincible maladies; then he would not have embrued his hands in the blood of his friends at the convivial board; then he would have revolted from executing, without a trial, able officers, his companions in arms, who had contributed to his successes. Prosperity had not yet overwhelmed his mind: he bore its rise with equanimity and stemming prudence: afterwards, when it had swelled to a flood, it swept away his self-controul. At this time, he so conducted himself, as to excel, in clemency and continence, all kings who had preceded him: To the royal virgins, whose charms were of a superior kind, his deportment could not

have been more delicately correct had they been his sisters. The wife of Darius he not only refrained from violating, but he protected, by special regulations, all the female captives from insult. He directed every accommodation to be provided for the royal prisoners: nor was there any thing of their former magnificence wanting, except a confiding sense of perfect security.

Sisygambis thus addressed the conqûeror: "You deserve, Sir! on our part, the same "prayers which we have been accustomed to "offer for Darius; and you are worthy, as I "perceive, of your superior fortune, because of "your superior clemency. You are pleased to "give me the titles of 'mother' and 'queen,' "but I acknowledge myself to be your "slave. I could support the loftiness of my "vanished fortune, and I can submit to my "present servitude. It concerns your charac-"ter, that your power over us should be dis-"played in acts of benevolence, rather than se-"verity." Alexander entreated the mother, and the consort, of Darius, not to be dejected. Then he took the son of Darius in his arms, who was so far from being affrighted, though it was his first time of seeing the king, that he put his arms round his neck. Alexander was so affected by the child's confidence towards him, that,

turning to Hephæstion, he said: "How glad "should I be, if Darius had something of this "disposition!"

33. Now, parting from the royal prisoners, he quitted their tent*.

He consecrated, on the banks of the river Pinarus, altars to Jupiter, to Hercules, and to Minerva.

Then he marched into Syria, sending Parmenio forward to Damascus, where the king of Persia's treasure was deposited.

* Alexander was never greater than after the battle of Issus. [Gillies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.] The city of Solon, in Cilicia, though a Grecian colony, had discovered ardent zeal in the cause of Darius: to punish this apostacy from Greece, Alexander demanded a heavy contribution from Solon. After the victory he remitted this penalty. With the same magnanimity, he released the ATHENIAN prisoners taken at the battle of the Granicus, a favour which he had sternly refused in the dawn of his fortune. [See ante, p. 273.]

The Grecian ambassadors, captives [see infra, p. 339.] at Damascus, were conducted into his presence. Thessaliscus and Dionysodorus, Thebans, he declared free, acknowledging that the misfortunes of their country entitled the Thebans to apply to Darius, or any foreign monarch, for relief. To Iphicrates, the Athenian, he showed respect on account of his country and his father. Euthycles, the Spartan, he detained in custody, because Sparta sullenly rejected the friendship of Macedon: But as his forgiveness increased with his power, he afterwards [infra, book IV. chap. viii. 33.] released Euthycles.

CHAP. XIII.

Account of the spoil and captives surrendered at Damascus by the treachery of the governor.

PARMENIO, having discovered that one of the satraps of Darius had obtained the start of him in repairing to Damascus, and apprehending that his small detachment might appear contemptible to the enemy, resolved to send for a reinforcement. But it happened that his scouts took, and brought before him, a Mardian, who delivered to him a letter from the governor of Damascus, addressed to Alexander; desiring 'That Alexander would promptly send thither 'one of his generals with a small force.' The emissary, who had been detained while Parmenio opened and read the letter, added, 'That 'the governor's intention, he doubted not, was 'to deliver up to Alexander all the Persian 'king's furniture and money.' On this information, Parmenio sent back the messenger, under a slender escort, to the traitor. The messenger, eluding those who had the care of him, entered Damascus before day-light. This occurrence disconcerted Parmenio, who suspected

an ambuscade; and, therefore, would not venture to proceed without a guide. Having impressed some peasants as guides, he, confiding in the good fortune of his sovereign, reached the city on the fourth day; when the governor had begun to apprehend, that his communication was not credited. Pretending, therefore, to consider the place as untenable, the governor ordered the money belonging to the *regal treasury*, (which the Persians call *gaza,)* together with the most valuable movables, to be brought out; dissimulating an intention to escape with the whole, but covertly designing to surrender it as a prize to the enemy.

34. Evacuating the town, he was followed by crowds of both sexes, to the amount of some thousands; a painful spectacle to all, him excepted, to whose protection they had been committed. To obtain the greater price for his infamous treason, he had prepared for the enemy a booty more acceptable than gold—the wives and children of several of the nobles and satraps of Darius. At Damascus, too, resided the ambassadors from the Greek cities, whom Darius had lodged, with the perfidious governor, in the citadel, as an impregnable asylum.

The Persians denominate those who carry burthens on their shoulders, *gangabæ*. These

men, unable to endure the cold*, (for there came on a sudden fall of snow, in the midst of a severe frost,) took the royal robes of gold and purple, which, as well as money, they were carrying, and put them on; no one daring to oppose them, for the misfortunes of the king emboldened the vilest wretches to insult his authority.

At a distance, the multitude appeared to Parmenio as no contemptible army: he, therefore, having in a short speech exhorted his men to preserve a steady front, commanded them to set spurs to their horses, and charge the enemy vigorously. Upon this, those who were carrying the burthens, flung them down, and in wild alarm took to flight. The soldiers, who followed, participating in the panic, threw away their arms, and turned into the bye-ways, with which they were familiar. The governor himself, counterfeiting terror, completed the general confusion. The plains were covered with the scattered imperial treasures—the cash provided for paying an immense army—the splendid suits of apparel of so many nobles and princesses—vessels of gold—bridles with bits, and ornaments, of gold—tents formed with regal

* The battle of Issus is hence supposed to have happened about the month of November. Indeed, Arrian states it to have been fought in the month *Mæmacterion*, answering to November.

magnificence—carriages laden with riches, abandoned by their drivers; altogether, a scene distressing to the plunderers, could avarice feel remorse. Among the incredible stores which opulence had accumulated through a long course of prosperity, draperies of exquisite fabric were seen torn by the roots of trees; other treasures, sunk into a miry bed, required to be dug out. There were not pillagers enough to grasp the spoil.

35. Those who had been the first to fly, were now overtaken; among them, many women leading their little children by the hand. In the higher class of fugitives, were three maiden ladies, the daughters of Ochus, a predecessor of Darius; fallen long since, from the splendour which surrounded their father's throne, by no small vicissitude; fortune now sternly aggravated their calamities. Members of the deposed and reigning families intermingled in the struggle to escape—the wife of Ochus—the daughter of Oxathres, brother to Darius; accompanying her was the wife of Artabazus, the first nobleman of Persia, with his young son Ilioneus. In the train of captives, were found the wife and son of Pharnabazus,

* Between the reigns of Ochus and Darius, the throne was filled for a short interval by Arses, (or Arsames,) the youngest son of Ochus. See ante, p. 162.

to whom Darius had deputed the sovereignty of the coast; the three daughters of Mentor; together with the wife and son of that illustrious commander, Memnon. Here, also, were made prisoners several Athenians, who, contrary to the treaty with Alexander, had sided with Persia; Aristogiton*, Dropides, and Iphicrates, each of high birth and distinguished reputation. The Lacedæmonians, Pausippus and Onomastorides, with Monimus and Callicratides, who fell at the same time into the victor's power, ranked among their countrymen, as men equally considerable.

The coined money taken amounted to two thousand and sixty talents †. The wrought silver was equal to five hundred talents in weight. There were taken, bearing away burthens, thirty thousand porters, and seven thousand pack-horses or other cattle.

But the celestial arbitors of vengeance promptly visited with punishment the betrayer

* Arrian varies from Curtius in the names of the Grecian deputies taken: but among the prisoners subsequently made at the battle of Arbela, he enumerates several mentioned in the list above. Arrian names no more than Iphicrates the Athenian, Euthycles the Spartan, with Thessaliscus and Dionysodorus, Thebans, as taken at this place.

† From the comparative smallness of this sum, commentators have supposed the text to be corrupted. One conjectural emendator is willing to read SIXTY-TWO THOUSAND.

of so much wealth. For an individual, to whom the governor had disclosed his perfidious practices, retaining, it would appear, due allegiance to his unfortunate sovereign, cut off the traitor's head, and carried it to Darius. This was a seasonable satisfaction to the prince whose confidence had been abused: he was revenged of his enemy, and he perceived that fidelity was not extinguished in all his subjects.

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK IV.

THE SIEGE AND DESTRUCTION OF TYRE. THE REDUCTION OF GAZA. THE BATTLE OF ARBELA.

CHAP. I.

Darius escapes to the Euphrates. Alexander appoints a governor of Syria. Letters between Darius and Alexander. Abdalominus raised to the throne of Sidon. Amyntas, in an enterprize against Egypt, perishes. Antigonus defeats the satraps who invade Lydia. Hostilities between Agis and Antipater.

1. DARIUS—recently at the head of so powerful an army, riding in his car, more in the manner of a victor in a triumphant procession, than of a general advancing to battle—passed with the hurry of a fugitive through districts, once filled with his numerous columns, now immense, unpeopled wastes. Few were the attendants of the king; for the flying

army did not take one road; and as the king frequently changed horses, his followers, destitute of that advantage, could not keep pace with him. When he reached Unchas *, he was received by four thousand Greeks; with these, he proceeded hastily to the Euphrates; sensible that those provinces, only, would continue under his dominion, which he could anticipate the enemy in occupying †.

In the meantime, Alexander directed Parmenio, who had taken Damascus, with its valuable treasures, to secure as well the place as the captives by a vigilant guard. He made Parmenio ‡ governor of Syria [proper], otherwise called Cœle ‖. The Syrians, not having yet sufficiently felt the scourge of war, spurned against the new sovereignty: but their revolt was crushed while it was rising, and they afterwards paid a regulated submission.

* The geographical situation of this obscure place, in some copies named Orchas, has not been determined; the commentator Raderus supposes it to be the same place which Arrian calls Sochos, distant about two days' march from the streits of Syria.

† Pursuing his march eastward, he crossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus.——Gillies's *Greece*, chap. xxxviii.

‡ Perhaps *Parmenio* was the *temporary* governor, while the army remained in the neighbourhood: Arrian confers the office on *Menon*, subjoining his surname, *Cerdamas*. But see the note, book iv. sect. 21, infra.

‖ *Cœle*, equivalent to the *cavern-like recess*, alluding to its situation between the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus.

The island Aradus likewise surrendered to Alexander. Strato, the king * of Aradus, possessed, as well, part of the continental coast, with some inland territory which stretched to a considerable distance. Alexander, having received these dominions into his allegiance, marched his army to the city of Marathos.

Here was delivered to him a letter from Darius, of which the haughty style highly incensed him. What chiefly irritated him, was, that Darius styled himself king, without addressing Alexander by that title. The Persian monarch rather demanded, than entreated, 'That Alexander would restore to him his mother, wife, and child; offering, for their ransom, as much money as all Macedon was worth. With regard to the empire, if Alexander were so inclined, he would contest it once more in the field. If Alexander could be impressed by salutary counsel, he would be content with his own dominions, and would retire from the frontiers of that kingdom which was the rightful possession of another; he would become the friend and ally of Darius, who was

* Arrian makes Strato—not the king, but the son of Gerostratus the king; stating, that in the absence of his father, who had joined the Persian fleet under Autophradates with his ships, Strato negociated the surrender of Aradus, and of the neighbouring continental cities, which Gerostratus himself, deserting the cause of Darius, afterwards confirmed.

' prepared to interchange with him pledges of
' fidelity.

2. The Macedonian king replied by a letter to this effect:

" King Alexander to Darius.—That* Darius " whose name you have assumed, devastated " with slaughter the Grecian colonies in Ionia, " together with the coast of the Hellespont, " also inhabited by Greeks: then he trans- " ported his army across the sea, and invaded " Macedon and Greece. After him,—Xerxes, " a prince of the same family, attacked us with " an infinite number of Barbarians; and though " he was defeated in a naval engagement, yet " he left Mardonius in Greece, in his absence, " to pillage the cities, and burn our corn-fields. " Besides, who is not apprised, that my father

* The word *Celes*, met with in ancient copies of the original, though it has perplexed the critics, is supposed not to have been lightly introduced. It may be translated the *horseman;* but it is uncertain to which Darius it should be applied. The commentator Raderus, with Glareanus, reads it in the nominative case: as though Alexander had said, alluding to the trick by which the first Darius obtained the throne, " *That* Darius, the *horse-jockey*, whose name " you have taken." Freinshemius conjectures that it should be in the dative case, as belonging to Codomannus: " King Alexander to " Darius the *swift rider*;" adverting either to his having been originally employed under Ochus as a *government-messenger;* or, to the rapidity with which he escaped on *horseback* from the battle of Issus. As no sense in which the word could be applied, is worthy of the magnanimity of Alexander, it seems proper to reject it wholly from the text.

" was assassinated by those whom you had cor-
" rupted with your money? You [Persians!]
" conduct war on an impious plan; for, though
" you do not want arms, you set a price on the
" heads of your enemies. Thus you, [Darius!]
" lately while you had that immense army, of-
" fered a thousand talents to hire a man to kill
" me*. Not the aggressor, I combat to crush
" that kind of hostility†. The gods, always
" auspicious to the just, have already reduced
" under my dominion great part of Asia, and
" given me a victory over you in person.
" Though you have no claim to kind offices
" from me, since you have not conducted your-
" self towards me by the laws of war, yet if
" you come as a suppliant, I promise that you
" shall receive your mother, wife, and children,
" without ransom. I know how to conquer,
" and how to alleviate the calamities of the
" conquered. Do you fear to place yourself in
" our power? Hostages from us shall secure
" the inviolability of your person, coming and
" returning. For the future, when you write

* Ante, p. 253.

† The translator has moulded this sentence so as not to put it on worse terms with fact than state declarations usually are: the original, *Repello igitur bellum non infero*, is diametrically opposite to truth. To have been literally *forced into the field to defend himself from attack*, Alexander would have deemed a reproach; and the beginning of his letter tends to justify the invasion of Persia.

" to me, remember, that you are addressing " not merely a king, but your king." Thersippus was charged with this letter.

From Marathos, Alexander descended into Phœnicia, where he received the submission of the town of Byblon.

3. Thence he marched to Sidon, a city celebrated on account of its antiquity, and the glory reflected on it from its founders *. Strato, its king, was secretly sold to the Persians; his recent submission had been rather a temporizing compliance with the inclinations of his subjects, than a voluntary act; therefore Alexander deemed him unworthy of reigning. The Macedonian victor authorized Hephæstion to raise to the vacant throne that individual among the Sidonians † most distinguished by merit. Hephæstion was lodged and entertained in the house of two brothers, young men of brilliant reputation among their fellow-citizens. To them he offered the sovereignty; but they successively refused it, on the ground, that it was contrary to the laws of the country to ele-

* Respecting the origin of that, and Tyre, see below, sect. 18.

† Justin agrees with Curtius, in laying the scene of this transaction in Sidon. Diodorus, relating a similar story, places the parties in Tyre; Plutarch, in Paphos: these are evidently both inaccurate: we have the testimony of Arrian, that Alexander pardoned Azelmicus, king of Tyre; and none of the *original* writers of Alexander's life ever conveyed him to Paphos.

vate to that dignity any other than a member of the royal family. Hephæstion, admiring that greatness of soul which induced them to slight what others employ fire and slaughter to obtain, thus spoke: "Fortify those virtuous "principles, till now without example, through "which you can perceive, how much better it "is to reject a diadem, than to accept it. "Name, however, some person of the regal "line, who may remember, when he is king, "that he was indebted for his power to you." But though they witnessed many servilely courting the favourites of Alexander, and ambitiously grasping after the dazzling prize with impatient solicitude,—they declared, that none deserved it better than Abdalominus, who, though remotely related to the royal family, was reduced to work as a gardener in the suburbs for a small stipend. His penury, not an uncommon case, had resulted from his probity. Intent on his daily labour, he had not yet heard the clashing of arms which shook all Asia.

4. On a sudden, the two disinterested Sidonians, bearing the robes and ensigns of royalty, enter the garden, from which Abdalominus was rooting up the weeds. Having saluted him king, one of them said: "This splendid dress "I bring in exchange for your sordid cover- "ing: wash from your body its habitual dirt.

" Assume the mind of a king; but, in your " merited dignity, retain your frugality and " moderation. When seated on the throne, " with the life and death of the citizens in " your power, forget not the condition in " which you were, when a sceptre was placed " in your hand, nor the purposes for which you " are appointed king." This address affected Abdalominus as a dream: recovering himself, he asked them, if they were in their senses?— then, how they could so wantonly ridicule him? In the stupor of surprise and doubt, he showed no readiness to restore himself to the elegance of cleanliness; but passively submitted to the necessary ablutions, and to be habited in an embroidered mantle of purple and gold. Induced by their oaths to believe them serious, and to be authorized to instal him king, he at length allowed them to conduct him to the palace. Rumour quickly circulated the transaction. Some it gratified; in others it excited indignation. The opulent acrimoniously displayed to Alexander's friends the degrading occupation and poverty of Abdalominus. Alexander ordered him to be brought into his presence: having deliberately surveyed him, he said: " My friend, your air and deportment are " not at variance with the account of your ex- " traction: allow me to inquire with what de-

" gree of contentment you bore indigence." Abdalominus replied: " Would to God I may " bear the weight of a kingdom with equal " tranquillity! These hands sufficiently mi- " nistered to my necessities: I possessed no- " thing; I wanted nothing." The Macedonian king, perceiving in this answer indications of a noble spirit, not only ordered that the royal furniture of Strato should be delivered to Abdalominus, but also enriched him with presents out of the Persian plunder, and annexed to his jurisdiction, as king of Sidon, a contiguous tract of country.

5. Meanwhile, that Amyntas, whom we formerly mentioned to have deserted the cause of Alexander for that of the Persians, effected his flight to Tripolis *, with four thousand Greeks, who had, since the late battle, adhered to his fortunes. Having embarked, he sailed with these troops to Cyprus. And observing how, in that conjuncture of affairs, every one appropriated whatever he could seize, as though it were rightfully his property, he determined to invade Egypt; the enemy of both kings; veering with the versatile aspect of the times. He exhorted his soldiers to undertake with confidence this great enterprise, reminding

* This city and sea-port was founded by the united efforts of three cities, Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus; whence its name.

them, 'That Sabaces, the satrap of Egypt, 'had fallen in the engagement; and that the 'garrison-forces of the Persians were feeble, 'and without a leader:' and he promised, 'That the Egyptians, habitually dissatisfied 'with their governors, would receive them 'as deliverers, not as enemies.'

Necessity drove him round the circle of experiment; for when disaster has destroyed the first pleasing creations of speculation and hope, —man, disgusted with the present, embraces new plans, and with sanguine impatience expects the future. Catching this spirit, the soldiers unanimously exclaimed: "Lead us where "you think proper!" Before their ardour and renewed hopes could subside, Amyntas wafted them into the harbour of Pelusium; pretending to the garrison that he had been sent forward by Darius. Having obtained Pelusium, he proceeded to Memphis. On the rumour of his arrival, the Egyptians, whom national levity fitted for innovation, and disqualified for achievement, assembled from the villages and towns, designing to coöperate with him in expelling the Persian garrisons. The Persian garrisons, surprized and alarmed, did not, however, abandon the hope of preserving Egypt. But Amyntas forced them, defeated in battle, to fly into Memphis. From the camp which he had pit-

ched *, he then drew off his victorious army, to scour and pillage the country; and as all things remained in the usual posture †, all the property of the enemy was destroyed. At this conjuncture, Mazaces raised his followers from the consternation into which their late defeat had plunged them, by representing to them, that the invaders, elated by their recent victory, had incautiously dispersed themselves: he then exhorted his troops not to despair of dislodging such as were before the city, and regaining every thing which had been lost. This counsel was not more seasonable than the enterprize was successful. The Greeks, with their leader, were slaughtered to a man. Thus heavy was the retribution on Amyntas for breaking his faith with the king to whom he went over, and the king from whom he basely withdrew his allegiance.

* *Castris positis.* In a work where the *ablative absolute* perpetually recurs, a translator is in danger of construing it where the author intended a *simple ablative with a preposition implied.*

† The original, *ac velut* IN MEDIO *omnibus positis, hostium cuncta agebantur,* is termed by Freinshemius a hopeless passage: but, from the view of the translator, its obscurity vanishes, if he may be allowed to construe IN MEDIO, either to signify *in the usual posture, i. e.* in a state of security and peace; or as equivalent to *in the open country,* in contradistinction to fortresses, whither, had the invasion been foreseen, the portable property might have been carried. The interpretation in the text differs nothing from a recognised acceptation of *medio,* if the word be regarded as an adjective, and *habitu,* or any substantive of the same import, be understood.

6. Now, the satraps of Darius, who survived the battle of Issus—having, by great exertion, collected their scattered adherents, and made a levy of young men from Cappadocia* and Paphlagonia—were struggling to reconquer Lydia. Antigonus, Alexander's lieutenant there, had weakened the garrisons by detaching from them great numbers of soldiers to the king's army: but holding the Barbarians in contempt, he took the field against them. Fortune proved constant to the cause of Alexander. The Persians were defeated in three engagements, fought successively in as many provinces.

At the same time, the Macedonian fleet was summoned from the harbours of Greece, to fall upon the ships which Darius had sent out under Aristomenes, to retake the Hellespontian coast; and none of these escaped being captured or sunk. On the other hand, Pharnabazus, admiral of the chief Persian fleet, which comprized a hundred vessels, exacted a contribution in money from the Milesians; then sailing to the islands, Chios, Andros, and Syphnus, he introduced garrisons into each, and punished the inhabitants of each by a pecuniary mulct.

* Hence it would appear—either that when Alexander (ante, p. 289,) appointed a governor of Cappadocia, that province was but partially subdued; or, that a portion of the inhabitants, taking advantage of the difficulty of guarding, at once, many extended tracts of country, were now in a state of insurrection.

The war for universal empire between the two most powerful princes of Europe and Asia, affected Greece and Crete. Agis, king of Sparta —having embodied eight thousand Greeks, who had escaped from Cilicia, and were returned home—directed his arms against Antipater, Alexander's lieutenant over Macedon; and as the Cretans espoused this or that side, their cities were garrisoned, sometimes by Spartans, and sometimes by Macedonians. These were trivial contests, compared to the mighty conflict, on which fortune seemed exclusively to attend, as involving the final issue of all the others.

CHAP. II.

Embassy from the Tyrians. Commencement of the siege of Tyre. Alexander chastizes the Arabs.

7. SYRIA subdued,—the Macedonians had dominion over all Phœnicia, excepting Tyre. The king was encamped upon the continent, from which a narrow sea divides the city. In splendour and extent, Tyre disdained competition with any of the cities of Syria or Phœnicia. Without any disposition to submit to

Alexander, it aspired to his alliance and friendship. While its ambassadors were the bearers to him of a crown of gold, the inhabitants hospitably conveyed to him a large quantity of provisions for his army. He desired his officers to take charge of these, as presents from his friends. He then, with an air of courtesy, informed the ambassadors, 'That he proposed to 'offer a sacrifice to Hercules;' (whom the Tyrians adored as their chief deity;) 'that the 'kings of Macedon traced their descent from 'that god; and that he had been directed by 'the oracle to that act of devotion.' The ambassadors answered, 'That there was on the 'outside the town, in the place named Palætyrus, a temple in which he might perform that 'solemnity.' This answer incensed Alexander, who, on slighter provocations, could not controul his anger: "I perceive," said he, "that "reposing on the security of your situation, "because you inhabit an island, you despise "these land forces: but I will shortly show "you that your place is part of the continent: "know, that either you must open the town "to me, or I will take it by assault."

This declaration terminated the audience: some of the king's friends, however, strenuously admonished the Tyrian ministers, that it would be politic to imitate the example of Syria

and Phœnicia, and admit the king into their territories. The Tyrians, confiding in the strength of the place, resolved to endure a siege.

8. The streit which separated Tyre from the continent, was four stadia [half a mile] broad; it was much exposed to the south-west wind, which drove crowding waves from the main sea against the shore: nor does any thing more obstruct the work by which the Macedonians prepare to connect the island and the continent than this wind. When the sea is unruffled, to construct the mole is difficult: but when this swell comes raging in, all the materials thrown into it are carried away by its violence. Nor could the pier be so firmly built as to prevent the waters from insinuating between the joints, corroding and sapping the work: and when the blast more fiercely raged, the flood beat over the top of the pier. There was another difficulty not less trying. The sea by which the city was encircled was of great depth*: thus against the walls and towers battering shafts could be directed only from ships; and the ships, dismissed, were at a distance:—Scaling ladders could not be applied; for the wall

* Its walls exceeded an hundred feet in height, and were eighteen miles in circumference.—Gillies's *History of Ancient Greece*, chap. xxxviii.

running, strait as a precipice, down into the sea, left no basement on which they could be planted*. If Alexander had brought up his fleet, it might have been forced off by missile weapons from the forts; nor could engines floating on so agitated a flood act with precision.

At this juncture, an incident, not immaterial, heightened the courage of the Tyrians. Ambassadors arrived from the Carthaginians, to offer, according to their national custom, the annual sacrifice to Hercules; for Tyre†, which had founded and colonized Carthage, was venerated by the latter, as the parent state. The Punic ministers exhorted the Tyrians to defend

* The original is, *præceps in salum murus, pedestre interceperat iter*: the paraphrastic interpretation of the Delphin editor is, *muri in mare usque procurrentes peditibus intercluserant iter*; of which the translator cannot perceive the congruity or propriety; while he is not without apprehension for his own version.

† Authorities concur in ascribing the foundation of Tyre to Dido, while they disagree as to the time. "This probably arose," says Petavius, "from the building of the city having been a gradual "work, carried on at intervals, and finished in parts. As a cor-"rection of the common statement, I should date the emigration of "Dido into Africa in the 7th year of Pygmalion's reign. *Bosra*, "the name of the fortified town which she there built, the Greeks "converted into *Byrsa*, to countenance the fiction which they add-"ed. Afterwards this place was called *Carthada*, as we learn from "Solinus; that is, the *new city*: hence *Carthago*. The seventh "year of Pygmalion corresponds to A. C. 890, one hundred and "fourteen years before the first Olympiad."

their city with tenacity, and Carthage would promptly send them succours: indeed, at that time powerful divisions of the Carthaginian navy commanded several seas.

9. Having decided on war, the Tyrians dispose along the walls and on the towers their machines, distribute arms to their young men, and set in motion the forges and foundries, summoning to them the artificers, of which Tyre contained a great number. Providing grappling-irons, crows, and other instruments for the defence of fortresses, the whole city rung with preparations for war. At one of the forges, as the workmen were blowing the furnace, in which was a quantity of iron, streams of blood are represented to have issued from under the flames: which the Tyrians interpreted into an ill omen to the Macedonians. Further, in the Macedonian camp, it happened, that one of Alexander's soldiers, in breaking his bread, observed drops of blood to burst from the inside: The king, not unalarmed,—Aristander, the most skilful among the diviners, answered, 'That if the blood had flown from without, it 'would have portended disaster to the Macedo-'nians; but as it sprung internally, it was a 'presage of destruction to the city which the 'army was destined to attack.'

His fleet on a remote station, and a tedious

siege in prospect, which would materially interfere with his other designs,—Alexander sent heralds to the Tyrians, inviting them to accede to peaceful conditions. The Tyrians, in violation of the law of nations, murdered these messengers, and cast their bodies into the sea. Exasperated at the atrocious crime,—the king determined to prosecute the siege.

But it is necessary, as a preliminary work, to join by a pier the city and the continent. When this immense labour was assigned to the soldiers, they became oppressed with despondency; they deemed, that even with celestial aid they could not fill up so deep a sea. 'Whence 'could they fetch stones large enough, or timber of sufficient length? It would exhaust re- 'gions to furnish materials for such a mole. 'Should the narrow channel between the island 'and continent be contracted, the sea would 'burst through with augmented fury.' Alexander, who understood how to lead the minds of his followers, announced to them, 'That 'Hercules in a dream, taking him by the hand, 'had appeared to conduct him into the city.' Alexander adverted to the murder of his heralds, in defiance of the laws of nations; he asked his soldiers, 'Whether they would suffer 'a single town to arrest their career of victory?' He then gave it in charge to his captains indi-

vidually, to extinguish the spirit of murmuring in their bands. The animation of his followers restored,—he commenced the work *.

At hand, the ruins of the ancient town †, was an inexhaustible magazine of stone; and mount Anti-Libanus ‡ supplied them with materials for rafts and wooden turrets.

10. Rising from the bottom of the sea, the mole had already swelled to the magnitude of a

* Not merely by issuing orders; but, setting a personal pattern of exertion, he carried, at the head of his men, a bin filled with earth. *Polyæn.* lib. iv.

† A peculiarity in the prediction, [Ezekiel, xxvi. 17, 21,] "That "[the first] Tyre should be thrown into the sea; so that, though "sought for, it should never more be found," was not fulfilled till near three centuries afterwards, when Alexander employed part of the *ruins of this capital* [destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar] to raise a stupendous mole, reaching three quarters of a mile from the coast to the walls of New Tyre, built on the opposite island.—Gillies's *History of the World, from Alexander to Augustus*, vol. i. p. 161.

> ——— Her lofty domes no more,
> Not ev'n the ruins of her pomp remain;
> Not ev'n the dust they sunk in; by the breath
> Of the OMNIPOTENT offended, hurl'd
> Down to the bottom of the stormy deep.
>
> DYER'S *Fleece*, book ii.

Some passages in the Sacred Writings, which predict the destruction of the second Tyre, are pointed out, ante, p. 262, n.

‡ Libanus. *Curt.*—By a geographical error, he has confounded the two.—Anti-Libanus, which begins above Sidon, stretches as far as Iturræa: whereas, Libanus, rising near the ancient Tripolis, and extending eastward, is distant the whole breadth of Cœle-Syria from Anti-Libanus.

mountain*; still it had not reached the surface of the water; and the further it extended from the shore, the greater quantity of materials the increased depth of the sea absorbed. During the progress of the work, the Tyrians came out in their boats, and tauntingly reproached the Macedonians, 'Men so famed in arms, carrying burdens on their backs like pack-horses!' They also asked them, 'Whether Alexander was superior to Neptune?' These insults but stimulated the soldiers. And now the pier began to be conspicuous above the water, to expand in breadth, and to approach the town.

When the Tyrians saw the vast dimensions of the pier, of which, while it was in progress, they had not been aware, they rowed in skiffs round the work, yet incomplete, attacking with their darts those soldiers who were upon it.

* Curtius says, that it had increased *in altitudinem montis*: but Arrian confines the depth of the channel to three fathoms; (a Greek fathom is, according to Herodotus, six feet; according to Pliny, ten feet;) there is, therefore, a departure from accuracy in the original phrase, unless there be authority for sometimes applying *altitudo* to lateral magnitude,—or unless we can suppose that a considerable mass of the materials, washed from the pier, but remaining in the channel, might have made it, through after-ages, comparatively shallow. The blocks of stone used in the foundations of the two piers must have been favourable to the constant accumulation of shelves of sand throughout the whole streit, so that no admeasurement, taken in Arrian's time, could be a true criterion of the original depth.

They, with impunity, wounded several from their boats, in which they could advance and retire at will; and the Macedonians were forced to suspend their labour to defend themselves. The king, therefore, caused skins and sails to be hung up before the workmen, to protect them from the darts; and he erected at the head of the pier two wooden turrets, whence the Macedonians might annoy with missile weapons the enemy's boats passing underneath.

At a distant spot, the Tyrians, unperceived by the Macedonians, debarked some soldiers, and cut in pieces a party fetching stone. And an Arabian horde attacking, on mount Anti-Libanus, Alexander's scattered men, killed about thirty, and carried off a few prisoners. This affair, concurring with a desire to avoid appearing to loiter before a single city, induced the king to divide his army. He committed the siege to Perdiccas and Craterus; and marched in person with a flying detachment into Arabia *.

* Arrian makes the excursion against the Arabs take up the time only of eleven days.

CHAP. III.

The siege of Tyre continued.

11. MEANWHILE, the Tyrians deposited in the stern-part of a large ship a heavy pile of stones and ballast, in order to cause its head to float high: they then coated it thickly with pitch and sulphur*: urged forward by oars, assisted with a press of sail in a favourable wind, it was promptly brought in contact with the pier. Having fired the forecastle, those on board leaped into boats which attended to receive them. The fire-ship spouted its flames widely, which, before they could be counteracted, had seized the wooden turrets and other works at the head of the mole. Those Tyrians who had escaped into boats, plied the works with torches and other blazing combustibles. The conflagration now invaded the highest stories of the turrets, where some of the Macedonians fell victims to it; others, flinging off their armour, plunged down into the sea,—and the

* They filled a large hulk with dry twigs, pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles: towards the prow, they raised two masts, each armed with a double yard, from whose extremities were suspended vast caldrons, filled with whatever might aggravate the conflagration. *Gillies*, after Arrian.

Tyrians, desirous to take these prisoners, bruised their hands with clubs and stones, while they were swimming; and, when they had rendered them unable to hold weapons, took them into their boats. Nor were the timber-frames only consumed: a boisterous wind conspired to complete the destruction of the bulwark: the tempest-driven surge, having shook the articulations of the work, forced a passage through its centre. When the stones, on which the earth had been deposited, were washed away, the whole structure sunk into the deep; Alexander, when he had returned from Arabia, could discern scarcely any traces of so vast a pile.

12. As usual among partners in distress, every one censured all the rest, when it had been as reasonable to have inveighed against the sea.

Commencing a new pier, Alexander directed that its head should meet the south-west wind, to which the former pier presented its side*: thus the other works lay sheltered behind the front as behind a rampart. He constructed it with an increased degree of breadth, that the towers built in the middle might stand out of the reach of the enemy's darts. Whole trees,

* Hence, if the former pier projected strait towards the city, this must have had an oblique direction.

of which the branches were of vast dimensions, were with their branches cast into the sea; on these the Macedonians let down massy stones: they then piled a second layer of trees; and upon these they deposited a superstratum of earth: and proceeded—with successive layers of trees, stones, and earth—to increase and cement the work, till the whole was a consolidated mass.

Meanwhile, the Tyrians omitted no exertion—had recourse to every stratagem, which might frustrate the labour of the Macedonians. The expedient, which most availed them, was to employ expert divers, who entering the water, at a distance, unperceived by the enemy, glided by submarine swimming to the pier: having fixed cramp-irons to the slenderer branches which projected from between the stones, the divers pulled out the branches, and many heavy materials, dragged away with them, sunk into the deep. Lightened thus of their incumbent loads, the trunks of trees and wooden piles were easily displaced; the foundation gone, the whole work, which had been held together by the timber-frames, became a wreck.

While Alexander, mortified, was deliberating, whether to prosecute, or to raise the siege, —his fleet arrived from Cyprus; and Cleander,

as opportunely, with fresh recruits from Greece. His fleet of one hundred and eighty* vessels, the king divided into two squadrons: the left, Phytogoras, king of Crete, commanded jointly with Craterus: the right, Alexander manœuvred in the royal quinquereme†. The

* Arrian makes the fleet two hundred and twenty-four: and enumerates the contingent squadrons which formed it: one hundred and twenty ships from Cyprus; eighty furnished by the Phœnicians; ten by the Lydians; as many from Rhodes; three from Solon and Malos: with a galley from Macedon of fifty oars.

† The *triremes*, *quadriremes*, and *quinqueremes*, of the ancients, were so denominated from the *number* of the *tiers of oars* on each side the vessel. It was long a desideratum in antiquarian science to determine the mode of arranging these ranks of oars, as well as to ascertain the position of the rowers. It is now generally understood, in unison with the ingenious conjecture of lieutenant-general Melvill—That the waist part of the ancient gallies, at the distance of a few feet above the water's edge, rose obliquely, in an angle of 45 deg. or near it; that upon the inner sides of this waist part, the seats of the rowers, each about two feet in length, were fixed, horizontally, in rows, with no more space between each seat in the same range, and between the seats below or above, than should be necessary for the free movements of the rowers working together,—they would therefore sit in the quincunx or chequer order. In 1773, General Melvill caused the fifth part of the waist of a quinquereme to be erected in the back-yard of his house in Great Pulteney-street. This model contained, with sufficient ease, in a small space, thirty rowers, in five abridged tiers, of six men in each, making one fifth part of the complement of rowers on each side of a quinquereme, according to Polybius, who assigns to such a galley three hundred rowers, besides one hundred and twenty fighting men. The General's explanation is confirmed by ancient monuments. On several pieces of sculpture, particularly at Rome, he found the figures of war-gallies, with oars represented as coming down from ruddock-

Tyrians, though possessed of a fleet, durst not venture a sea-fight with Alexander, but ranged their triremes under cover of their fortresses: three of the more exposed, the king attacked and sunk.

13. On the following day, Alexander advanced his fleet to the walls, of which he battered the whole circumference with his engines, chiefly employing the shock of the rams. The Tyrians promptly closed the chasms with blocks of stone; they also began to build an interior wall, to retire behind, should the former give way. But on every side annoyance pressed them; the mole approached within the range of a dart; a fleet invested the walls; land and sea-forces threatening to overwhelm them. The Macedonians had so connected quadriremes, two by two, that while their heads touched, their sterns were kept diverging; the interstice between the hulls was floored by sail-yards and planks, strongly corded together; upon these were laid bridges, as platforms, for the soldiers.

holes, disposed chequerwise. In the Capo di Monte palace, is a Medaglione of Gordianus, of which the reverse has a trireme with oars so disposed. The collection at Portici contains ancient paintings of gallies, which, by being represented foreshortened, with the stern towards the spectator, show the obliquity of the sides, and the rows of oars reaching to the water.

The galleys had grappling-irons on the prows, which, when contending gallies ran on board, kept them from separating.

Thus disposed, the quadriremes were towed to the city. From these floating bridges, darts were showered on the besieged by the soldiers, themselves out of danger, under cover of the prows. It was at midnight, that Alexander ordered the fleet, thus appointed, to invest the city; and when the Tyrians saw the vessels standing in from every direction, they were unnerved by despair:—on a sudden, the sky is veiled by heavy clouds, and the portion of chequered light which had prevailed, is intercepted. The sea trembles; its agitations gradually increase; now the wind, rising in vehemence, aggravates the tumult of the waters, and the vessels dash against each other. The bands are strained by which the quadriremes are connected: they break, the platforms fall with a stupendous crash, and the soldiers are swept with them into the deep. Nor could the gallies, which remained lashed together, be managed in the dark tempest. The soldiers interrupt the manœuvres of the seamen, and the rowers impede the soldiers in their duty; and, as it happens in similar cases, the skilful take orders from the ignorant. For the pilots, accustomed to command in their province, menaced now with death, obey landmen. At length, the sea, as conquered by the perseverance of the rowers, resigns the rescued gallies,

which gain the shore, the greater part much shattered.

14. About this time arrived thirty deputies from Carthage, bearing to the besieged friendly assurances rather than aid; for they announced, that the Carthaginians, embarrassed by the invasion of their own territories, were fighting, not for empire, but for security. At that time the Syracusans * were ravaging Africa, and had encamped not far from the walls of Carthage. The Tyrians were, however, not depressed, although disappointed of powerful assistance: but delivered to the ambassadors from Carthage their wives and children, to be transported thither; better able themselves, now, to meet the common danger, since that which was dearest to them was placed beyond its reach.

At this conjuncture, one of the citizens declared in the assembly, that, in a vision which he had seen in sleep, Apollo, whom the Tyrians adored with great devotion, appeared in the act of departing from the town,—and the pier which the Macedonians had constructed, was transformed into a forest. On this slender au-

* The *name* of the invaders would appear to be a mistake; as we do not elsewhere read, that the *Syracusans* invaded Africa, except when, under Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily, they carried terror to the gates of Carthage: but this happened, Olymp. cxvii. 3, two-and-twenty years after the fall of Tyre.

thority, inclined, out of fear, to entertain gloomy presentiments, they fastened the image, bound with a golden chain, to the altar of Hercules, their tutelar deity, as expecting by his aid to detain Apollo. The Carthaginians having carried off this image from Syracuse *, had set it up in their mother country; for they were accustomed to adorn Tyre and Carthage, equally, with the spoils of other states.

15. A sacrifice, which had been discontinued by the Tyrians many ages, and one which I must contemplate as abhorred by the gods, some individuals proposed to revive,—that of offering up to Saturn a free-born male child: this kind of sacrifice, rather this unholy sacrilege, the Carthaginians, who imbibed it from their founders, are represented to have used till their city was destroyed; and, now, had not the *aldermen*, who controulled public proceedings, opposed this accursed superstition, it had triumphed over humanity.

Urgent necessity, a tutor more effectual than all the arts which descend to us, not only

* Unless there were any temple in the suburbs of Syracuse from which this figure of Apollo could have been taken, this is also an error; for the Carthaginians, though they often besieged, never reduced Syracuse. Diodorus relates, that the Geloni originally possessed this image, which ancient superstition seems to have prized, as affording, like the palladium, protection by its presence.

made the Tyrians fly to usual methods of defence, but suggested to them new. Against the gallies lashed together*, which rode close to their walls, they prepared long beams, armed with crows, grappling-irons, hooks, and sithes, fastened by cords; when the beams had been shot forward by balistæ, they slackened the cords†. The hooks and sithes hanging down from the beams, cut in pieces the men and [tore asunder] the gallies. Further, the besieged heated brazen targets to a red heat, which, filled with burning sand and boiling slime, they suddenly discharged from the walls. None of their pestiferous devices was more terrible: whenever the burning sand insinuated between the armour and the body, it was impossible to dislodge it; and where the caustic touched, it consumed the flesh: the wretches tortured by it, flinging down their weapons, and tearing off every defensive covering, lay,

* *Implicanda navigia.* ORIG.——If this construction can be supported, it would appear that Alexander was not deterred by the disasters related in p. 367, from repeating the experiment of floating platforms.

† The translator *supposes*, that the destructive appendages were bound close to the beam, to allow it to slide freely in the engine which projected it; but that as soon as the beam was driven out far enough to impend over the enemy, the cords, loosened, hung down with the weapons, and the beam worked with a sawing motion.

unrevenged, receiving incessant wounds. The crows and grappling-irons shot from engines swept off a number of men.

CHAP. IV.

Tyre is taken. Its antiquity. Sketch of its Colonies.

16. NOW, weary of the siege, to raise it, and strike at Egypt, was a purpose which the king began to revolve. What though he had, with unparallelled celerity, over-run Asia—Before the walls of a single town he was still fixed, and the opportunity to execute imperial designs was escaping. On the other hand, he felt that it were as much a disgrace to retire from the city foiled, as to linger before it: His reputation, by which he had effected more than by military strength, would be essentially impaired, were Tyre to subsist a memorial that he might be overcome. Wherefore, that he might leave no resource unemployed, he prepared for action a great number of ships, conveying the choicest of his soldiers on board. At this time it happened that a whale, of no ordinary size, after having been seen to beat about the channel,

laid itself against the pier, with its back projecting above the water, so as to be conspicuous to both parties. Then, near the head of the pier, it plunged again into the sea; alternately displaying and concealing itself, it finally sunk from view near the walls of the city. Both parties construed the appearance of the monster as an auspice to themselves. The Macedonians concluded, that it had marked the track in which they should extend the mole:—the Tyrians imagined, that Neptune was vindicating his right to the invaded deep, and that suddenly as he had snatched away the whale, the mole would fall to ruin: under this delusion, they proceeded to festivity, and gorged themselves with wine. At sun-rise they manned their vessels, which they had adorned with garlands of flowers, confident of victory, and rejoicing prematurely.

17. Fortuitously the king had appointed his divided fleet to different stations *, leaving upon the [Sidonian] shore thirty vessels of secondary rate †. Of these, the Tyrians captured two, and imminently endangered the remainder; till

* One before that harbour of Tyre which looked towards Egypt; and a second squadron watched the port facing Sidon.

† But among these, if we credit Arrian, was the quinquereme of the king of Cyprus, and not a few smaller gallies; Alexander having appointed the Cyprian fleet to this station. Still the king might, by a *ruse*, for a moment weaken this division to invite attack.

Alexander, whom the clamour had reached, brought up his fleet to the shore. Of the Macedonian reinforcement, one quinquereme advancing with velocity, shot a-head singly. As soon as the Tyrians perceived this, they sent against it two gallies, one on each quarter. The quinquereme plying its oars to drive against one of them *, was itself severely struck by the adverse prow, but, in its turn, grappled the assailant. The other galley, unconfined, having swung round, to have a free impetus, was preparing to attack her on the other side; when—most opportunely—one of Alexander's triremes so furiously charged the galley bearing upon the quinquereme, that the Tyrian pilot was shook from the helm into the sea. The Macedonian vessels coming up in numbers, and Alexander appearing in person,—the Tyrians *backed water* with their oars; and having with much difficulty disengaged their grappled galley, all their vessels hove about together to escape into port. Alexander pursued with adhesive constancy; but could not enter

* In ancient times the success of a naval engagement principally depended on the activity of the rowers and the skill of the pilots, whose object it always was to dart, with great violence, the sharp beak or prow of the ship, armed with brass or iron, against the sides of the enemy's. By a repetition of these assaults, and sometimes at one stroke—while they themselves, with superior dexterity, eluded such a shock—they shattered or sunk the vessel of their opponents.

the harbour, on account of the missile weapons by which he was repelled from the walls above. He, however, either sunk or captured nearly their whole fleet.

18. He allowed his soldiers two days' repose. He then put his ships in motion, and advanced his engines, that with both he might press the now appalled enemy. In this attack, the king posted himself on a lofty turret, and with exemplary courage met combining dangers; conspicuous by the ensigns of royalty, and by his splendid armour, he was the mark at which the besieged chiefly aimed. Executing heroic achievements in the view of both armies,—many conflicting on the battlements he killed with his spear; others, who engaged him hand to hand with sword and buckler, he precipitated by a stroke into the deep; for the turret on which he fought almost touched the enemy's walls.

The battering rams had now, by incessant shocks, disturbed the cement which had embodied the stones of the tottering fortifications: the fleet had entered the port*; and several parties of Macedonians had taken possession of towers which the besieged had evacuated:—the Tyrians sink under so many concurrent calami-

* The Phœnicians broke into the Egyptian, the Cyprians into the Sidonian, harbour.

ties; a crowd fly to the temple as an asylum; others, barring up the entrances to their houses, exercise the wretched freedom of dying as they choose: some rush furiously on the troops pouring in, resolved not to perish unavenged. The majority, however, ascended the roofs of the houses, whence they hurled down on the enemy ponderous stones, or such other things as accident armed them with.

Alexander gave orders to spare those only who had taken refuge in the temples, and to fire the houses. After this had been proclaimed, still none, capable of bearing arms, sought protection from the gods. Boys and virgins filled the sanctuaries: the men, every one in the doorway of his own habitation, stood ready victims to slaughtering rage. A multitude was, however, saved by the Sidonians, who made a part of Alexander's armament. These had entered the city with the victors: but remembering their relationship with the Tyrians, (in as much as they believed Agenor to have founded both * ci-

* *Justin* reports that Sidon was founded by the Phœnicians, and that it derived its name from the abundance of fish on the coast, *Sidon* being the Phœnician word for a *fish*. Eusthatius represents it to have been founded by Sida the daughter of Belus. Josephus makes its author to have been Sidon, the eldest son of Canaan: living later, Agenor was contemporary with some of the first *judges* over Israel. But Sidon might be founded by the son of Canaan, and be afterwards rebuilt or enlarged by Agenor.

ties,) they protected a number of the citizens by taking them on board their ships, and clandestinely conveying them to Sidon. Fifteen thousand were thus saved. How profusely human blood was spilt, may be estimated from this,—that six thousand slain were counted within the walls. The rage of the king was monstrous; two thousand, which the mad hour of slaughter failed to destroy, he ordered to be nailed to crosses along the sea-shore; a lamentable spectacle even to the victors*. Alexander spared the ambassadors from Carthage, but declared against it a war, of which the urgent importance of his previous undertakings forced him to postpone the prosecution.

Olymp. cxii. 1. *A. C.* 332. *Ætat. Alex.* 25. *Reg.* 5.

19. Tyre was taken in the seventh month after the commencement of the siege; a city which the antiquity of its origin, and the numerous vicissitudes in its history, have combined to render interesting to posterity. It had been built by Agenor, and long held the trident not only of the neighbouring sea, but of all the seas on which its fleets appeared. If we credit tradition, the Tyrians were the first people that

* Justin, to assign a cause for this procedure, states these victims to inhumanity, to have been of the families of a set of slaves who had formerly murdered their masters and usurped power in the state.

taught or acquired alphabetical writing *. Tyre had planted colonies over almost all the world: Carthage in Africa; Thebes in Bœotia; and Gades upon the ocean †. I believe that, unrestrained in their naval enterprizes, and exploring countries unknown to the rest of mankind, the Tyrians selected these remote seats for their youths, when their population had multiplied to excess: or, (for this allegation has been transmitted to us,) because their native country was subject to earthquakes, worn out with privations and inquietude, they were driven, at once emigrants and conquerors, to seek—armed, in bodies—new and distant settlements. Having survived many shocks, to be ultimately, as a state, annihilated; Tyre was rebuilt during a long

* Many authors support this representation, while the majority dissent from it. The invention of letters has been ascribed to Noah: to Abraham: to Moses: to Cadmus. It may briefly be noticed, as tending to reconcile these contradictory statements, that of those classed among inventors, some either merely remodelled or reärranged the first-invented, or introduced new, letters; others framed systems of hieroglyphicks. Lastly; when the variety of alphabets which have been used in different times and places are considered, it is not surprizing that the original inventor of the divine art is obscured by a crowd of imitators and improvers.

† *Gades*, the modern *Cadiz*.—Curtius enumerates the more considerable. Of minor colonies, Leptis and Utica are mentioned by Pliny; Hippo and Adrumetum, by Sallust. Other writers add Tyros, in Sarmatia.

peace; (peace makes every thing flourish anew;) and it now enjoys serenity and security under the mild protection of Rome.

CHAP. V.

Correspondence between Darius and Alexander. At the Isthmian games a crown is decreed to Alexander. Minor hostile operations.

20. AT this interval is delivered an epistle from Darius, who at length yields to the conqueror the title of king. He entreats him, 'To accept his daughter Statyra in marriage; 'offering, as a dowry, the whole tract of country between the Hellespont and the Halys *— 'and declaring himself satisfied with the provinces eastward from that river. Did Alexander hesitate to accept this overture, the 'conqueror should know that fortune maintained no one attitude long; the greater an 'individual's felicity, the more has he to fear 'from violent envy. As a volatile bird is, by 'natural levity, buoyed up to the skies; so, it 'was to be apprehended, Alexander could not

* The boundaries of the ancient Lydian empire.

'restrain his juvenile and airy mind from ex-
'travagant elation. Nothing was more diffi-
'cult than to know how to support success at
'such an age. Darius had many resources unim-
'paired, and might not always be circumvent-
'ed in a narrow defile. Alexander had still to
'force the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes,
'and the Hydaspes; formidable bulwarks to an
'empire; in the spacious plains, he would be-
'come ashamed of his scanty force. When
'would he penetrate to Media, Hyrcania, Bac-
'triana, to the Indians who verge on the re-
'mote ocean? or to the Sogdians and Aracho-
'sians, known but by their names; as well as
'to the nations on the ridges of mount Cauca-
'sus and the banks of the Tanais? Were he to
'obtain undisputed admission to those coun-
'tries, he would become old before he could
'traverse them all. Let him desist from sum-
'moning Darius to meet him, for when Darius
'comes, it will be to his ruin.' By the same heralds that had brought this letter, Alexander transmitted his reply. He reminded the Persian king, 'That he did not possess the terri-
'tory which he had tendered, having already
'lost what he offered to partition. The dowry,
'made up of Lydia, Ionia, Æolia, and the coast
'of the Hellespont, was previously, by con-

'quest, Alexander's. It belonged to the victorious to prescribe conditions, and to the vanquished to receive them. If Darius could alone be ignorant in which of those relations he stood, a battle might speedily decide it. When Alexander crossed the sea, he did not purpose to himself Cilicia or Lydia; (an inadequate object for so weighty a war;) but he meditated the subjugation of Persepolis, the capital of his adversary's empire, with Bactriana and Ecbatana, and of tracts extending to the farthest shores of the Eastern world. Whithersoever Darius might fly, he could follow. Nor could rivers obstruct him, to whom the sea had not been a barrier.'

21. To this effect was the correspondence of the two sovereigns. Meanwhile, the Rhodians surrendered their city and harbour to Alexander's forces.

The king committed the government of Cilicia, to Socrates; and the country dependent on Tyre, to Philotas. The administration of Syria, Parmenio had resigned to Andromachus *, that he might attend Alexander in the prosecution of the war. The king, having directed He-

* Eusebius also states Andromachus to have received this appointment; and Curtius again speaks of him as the governor, sect. 33, infra.

phæstion to steer along the Phœnician coast with the fleet, moved with his whole army to the city Gaza.

About this time, fell one of the quinquennial periods for the Isthmian games, celebrated by a confluence of people from all parts of Greece. The temporizing Greeks decreed, that a deputation of twelve from the assembly should present Alexander with a crown of gold, their grateful offering for the deeds and victories by which he had promoted the safety and liberty of Greece. The same men, a short time previously, had entertained equivocal rumours with avidity, keeping their suspended support ready for that party which fortune should favour.

Not only the king went on, reducing under his dominion several cities obstinate in resistance; but his lieutenants, also, who were able commanders, achieved a number of conquests. Calas subdued Paphlagonia; Antigonus, Lycaonia; and Balacrus, having defeated the Persian satrap Idarnes, recovered Miletus*. Amphoterus and Hegelochus, with a fleet of one hundred and sixty vessels, brought the islands between the Grecian coast and Asia under Alexander's

* *Miletum cepit.* CURTIUS.—See *Supplement*, ante, p. 224. Many provinces which Alexander had subjugated, afterwards, either from the coercion of the Persians, or by a spontaneous revolt, declared for Darius.

government:—Having accepted the submission of Tenedos,—invited by the inhabitants of Chios, they expected to occupy it with the same facility: but Pharnabazus, the admiral of Darius, having seized the principals of the Macedonian faction, restored Apollonides and Athenagoras, who were in the Persian interest, to power in the city, leaving with them a small garrison. The lieutenants of Alexander persevered in their enterprize, relying less on the amount of their forces, than on the disposition of the besieged. Nor did this expectation fail; for violent dissentions between Apollonides and the commanders of the military, allowed the besiegers an opportunity to break into the town. When a regiment of Macedonians had forced one of the gates, a party of inhabitants, acting by a plan concerted for the surrender of the place, joined Amphoterus and Hegelochus. The Persian garrison slain,—Pharnabazus, with Apollonides and Athenagoras, are delivered up as prisoners. Here were taken three thousand Greeks in the Persian service; twelve triremes, with their complements of marines and rowers; besides thirty ships and piratical brigantines. The Greeks were incorporated, as recruits, into the Macedonian battalions; the rowers were compelled to serve in the fleet; and the corsairs were punished with death.

22. It happened, that Aristonicus, the tyrant of Methymna, unapprised of these transactions, arrived, with some piratical vessels, about the first watch, at the mouth of the harbour, which was secured by a boom. The guard demanded, 'Who he was?' He answered: "Aristonicus brings succours to Pharna-" bazus."—'Pharnabazus is reposing, and can-'not now be spoken with: but, as an ally, or 'a guest wanting shelter, we will admit you 'into the port, and in the morning you can 'have an audience of Pharnabazus.' Aristonicus, without hesitation, immediately entered the haven, followed by the piratical brigantines. As they were standing in towards the quay, the guard closes the port: a division of the centinels keep watch, while a part alarm the garrison: Aristonicus and the piratical crews, taken without resistance, are delivered in chains to Amphoterus and Hegelochus.

Hence the Macedonians sailed to Mitylene, which Chares the Athenian, who had lately debarked there, defended with a garrison of two thousand Persians: but finding himself unable to hold out, he surrendered the city, on condition that he might retire unmolested. He departed for Imbros. The Macedonians gave quarter to the garrison.

CHAP. VI.

Darius prepares to renew hostilities. Alexander besieges Gaza.

23. DARIUS, despairing of peace, which he had expected to negociate by letters and ambassadors, was wholly engaged in creating an army, in order to recommence hostilities with vigor. He summoned to Babylon the chieftains of his provincial levies; and, in particular, commanded Bessus, leader of the Bactrians, to join him with as powerful an army as he could embody. Among those hordes, the Bactrians are the most intrepid; they are a ferocious people, and totally averse from the luxury of the Persians. Their country lies toward the warlike Scythians, who subsist by plunder, roving in armed bands. But the impatient dissatisfaction with which Bessus attended to the offices devolving on the second personage in the empire, rendered his loyalty suspected, and disturbed the tranquillity of the king; for, as he affected the sovereignty, it was apprehended that he would grasp at it by some traitorous act.

Meanwhile, Alexander, exploring various channels of intelligence, endeavoured to trace the retreat of Darius; but was unable to ascertain in what region he was concealed. It is a moral habit of the Persians to keep, with illustrious fidelity, the secrets of the king; neither fear nor hope can extort a word tending to discovery; for the venerable institutes of that monarchy fortify silence by the penalty of death. The Persians punish intemperance of the tongue more severely than any other delinquency: nor can they esteem a man qualified for great employments who feels any difficulty in conforming to enjoined taciturnity, a duty which nature has rendered easy.

Alexander, uninformed of the movements of the enemy, laid siege to Gaza*. Its governor, Betis, an officer of approved fidelity, with an inconsiderable garrison defended a stupendous circuit of fortifications.

24. Alexander, having surveyed the position of the works, directed the excavation of several mines; the subterraneous approaches were

* It is said to have received this name from Cambyses, because, on his way to Egypt, he lodged his treasures in the fortress; for, says Curtius, [ante, p. 336,] the Persians call the regal treasury *gaza*. If this be true, ancient expositors of the scripture must have substituted *gaza*, in Genesis and Judges, in place of the old name.

favoured by the lightness of the soil, which, formed chiefly by accessions of sand from the neighbouring sea, was free from rocks and stones. The mines were commenced from a point which was out of the view of the besieged; and Alexander, to keep the garrison amused, gave orders to advance the towers to the walls. But the ground was ill adapted to these ponderous engines; for the sand, giving way, retarded the movements of the wheels; the platforms in the towers were shattered, and many soldiers were wounded: while the enemy remained unannoyed. To replace the towers in safety, was as difficult as it had been to advance them. The signal is made for a retreat. But Alexander orders, that on the following day a *military circle** shall be drawn round the fortress. At sun-rise, before he put his army in motion, he offered a sacrifice, with the solemnities of his country, imploring aid from the gods. A raven, flitting over, dropped from between its talons a clod of earth on the royal worshipper's head, whence it fell on the ground, broken to pieces: the bird alighted on a conti-

* *Corona.* ORIG.—This close mode of investment intimidates the besieged, imprisons them, and cuts off their supplies. The lines of a *corona* might be two or three ranks in depth, or still denser. The infantry lined the inside of the circle. The horse were planted on the outside, for observation and defence.

guous turret, slimed with pitch and sulphur. Its wings adhering to the viscous surface, the raven in vain struggled to liberate itself, and was caught by the attendants. That this incident merited the elucidation of the soothsayers, was admitted by Alexander, who had a tincture of superstition. Aristander, the diviner of highest reputation, affirmed, 'That it portended the 'fall of the city, but that the king, involved in 'danger, might receive a wound; he therefore 'dehorted him from entering upon any opera-'tion during the day.' Alexander impatiently endured, that one fortress should restrain him from penetrating into Egypt, unless at imminent risk, yet he was influenced by the hierophant, and made the signal for retreat.

25. This augmented the courage of the besieged, who sallied upon the Macedonians as they withdrew from the attack; deeming that the indecision of the enemy presented a moment of advantage: but their ardour was not steady and persevering, for when they saw the Macedonians face-about, they suddenly halted. And now the acclamations of those engaged reached to the king: Little mindful of the danger of which he had been forewarned; yet induced by the entreaties of his friends to defend himself with armour, which he rarely wore; he repaired to the front division. As soon as he appeared

there, an Arab among the common soldiers of Darius dared an enormous enterprize above his condition; covering his sword with his buckler, he knelt before the king, as though he had come over: the king bade him rise, and directed that he should be enrolled; but the Barbarian nimbly shifting his sword into his right-hand, swung it at the king's neck. Alexander, by a slight bend of the body, avoided the blow, and lopped off the perfidious hand of the Barbarian. The special danger with which the day was commissioned, he considered as now past. But it would appear, that destiny is not to be eluded; for while the king was intrepidly combating among the most advanced, an arrow pierced his armour, and remained planted in his shoulder, till Philip his surgeon extracted it: Blood now flowed in a copious stream: His attendants were alarmed; because they had never witnessed a shaft overcome the obstruction of armour, and bury its head so deeply. Alexander, from whose cheeks the colour did not move, bid them staunch the bleeding, and bind up the wound. Inattentive to the first importunities of pain, he remained in front of the banners a considerable time, till the blood-vessels, which an application had compressed, burst with a new hæmorrhage; and the pain, which had been moderate, increased to acute

anguish; and the lacerated part, as the gore congealed, began to swell. Then Alexander, swooning, sunk down upon his knees: Whereupon his attendants bore him to his tent. And Betis, concluding him to be dead, returned into the town in triumph.

26. Alexander, while his wound was under cure, completed a terrace as lofty as the fortress, and he conducted mines under its walls. Meanwhile, the besieged carried up an interior rampart equal in height with the old fortifications*, but below the level of the turrets which Alexander raised upon the terrace; so that the interior of the city was annoyed by the darts of the enemy. A consummate disaster to the garrison, the walls, which had been silently sapped, now fell down; and the Macedonians poured in at the breaches. The king led the vanguard; and while he was incautiously climbing to the attack, a stone bruised his leg; afterwards supporting himself on his spear, he fought among the combatants who had pressed to the front, though his former wound was not cicatrized. To have received two wounds in the siege, inflamed his desire of revenge.

* Arrian states this bulwark to have been carried quite round the city, a stupendous circuit,—and to have been two hundred and fifty feet high, and two furlongs broad: which is altogether extravagant.

Betis, having displayed signal gallantry, almost dissected with gashes, was deserted by his men. Blood from his antagonists, streaming with his own, had made his weapons slippery to the grasp, yet he still fought resolutely. At length, pressed on all sides, exhausted by resistance disproportionately maintained, he was taken alive, and carried before the king. The young conqueror, with arrogant elation, no longer the Alexander who admired intrepidity in an enemy, said to his nobler captive: "The "kind of death, Betis! which thou hast court-"ed, thou shalt not obtain; prepare to endure "all that torture can devise." Betis, undaunted, replied to the menace merely by a disdainful look. Then Alexander, speaking to his attendants: "Do you mark his stubborn silence? "Does he kneel? Have you heard one word "of submission? But this silence I will sub-"due: if nothing else will burst it, it shall "give way to groans." His anger turns to brutish madness; for already his last successes had vitiated his manners. He had thongs fixed to the ankles of his captive; and the yet breathing hero, lashed to a car, was dragged by horses round the city: the frantic victor vaunting that he punished his enemy in the manner of Achilles*, from whom he had descended.

* Achilles was more humane, because Hector was first a corpse.

Of Persians and Arabians there fell nearly ten thousand: nor to the Macedonians was it a bloodless conquest. The siege is renowned, not so much from the celebrity of Gaza, as from the critical train of incidents to Alexander.

The king now detached Amyntas, with ten triremes, to Macedon, to levy fresh troops; for even victories had attenuated his army; and to enlist a great proportion of soldiers from the conquered countries would have been unsafe. Alexander now advances with celerity toward Egypt.

CHAP. VII.

Alexander is received in Egypt without opposition. He visits the temple of Jupiter Hammon.

27. LONG-TIME to the Egyptians the ascendancy of the Persians had been odious; the government of the satraps, grinding and imperious. The expected approach of Alexander revived the courage of a people who, from a propensity to revolt, had eagerly received Amyntas *, intruding with precarious autho-

* Ante, p. 350.

rity. A confluence of Egyptians, therefore, repaired to Pelusium, imagining that Alexander would enter by that port. But, on the seventh day after leaving Gaza, he reached a different part of Egypt, since named Alexander's camp. Having ordered the bulk of his army to march thence to Pelusium, he, with a chosen division, is wafted along the Nile. The Persians, in consternation at the insurrection, did not wait his attack. Already he had arrived in the vicinity of Memphis. The satrap Mazaces, abandoning the cause of Darius, hastily crossed a branch of the river, and delivered to Alexander eight hundred talents, with all the royal movables. From Memphis, ascending the river, the king penetrated to the interior of Egypt. Having settled an administrative government, so as not to disturb the usages of the country, he proposed to visit the oracle of Jupiter Hammon *.

28. The track thither was barely practicable to a small band lightly equipped. Water, from springs, or from the clouds, is rarely afforded. The solar heat is intolerable; the atmosphere is a glowing vapour; a desolate expanse of sand

* Understood, by some critics, not without the countenance of ancient writers, to be Ham, the son of Noah, and king of Libya, deified after his death; the Egyptian Jupiter, worshipped under the name of Hammon.

burns the feet. Besides the excess of summer in an arid region, the traveller has to struggle with a deep layer of loose sharp dust, which giving way to the tread, and sticking to the flesh, renders stepping painful. The Egyptians magnified these difficulties.

Alexander, however, was stimulated by a powerful desire to present himself before Jupiter, whom, dissatisfied with a mortal origin, he believed to have been his father; or, he designed that others should believe it. He, therefore, with select attendants, descended the river to the lake Mareotis.

Hither ambassadors came to him from the Cyrenians, with gifts, supplicating peace, and entreating his presence in their cities. The king having accepted their friendship, prosecuted his journey. Throughout the first and second day the fatigue was not immoderate, the party not having reached the naked immensity of desert, though the surrounding country was barren and dead: But as the levels covered with deep sand spread themselves out, the eye ached for hospitable land in the boundless view, as in the midst of an ocean. Not a tree, not a vestige of cultivation. Here the water failed, which had been brought in bottles on camels: and there were no springs in the fervid ground. To make the extremity consummate, the raging heat had

parched or consumed every thing, when, suddenly—by a natural casualty, or by the providence of the gods—clouds, spreading over the sky, curtained the sun: a considerable relief to men sinking under its power, though they still wanted water. Soon a tempest discharged a flood of rain, when every one caught a supply: some individuals, with impatient thirst, received it in their mouths as it fell. Four days had already fretted away in the desert.

29. Here, the column, not greatly distant from the seat of the oracle, was met by a flock of ravens. These birds, afterwards, flew gently before the van; now alighting, as the column paused; now on wing, preceding it in the manner of a guide. At length the party arrives at the recess consecrated to the god. We hesitate to believe, that in the midst of an immense desert there should be a spot protected on all sides by branching trees and entwining thickets, an asylum of shade which the sun never violates; while fountains, whose waters are grateful to the taste, bubbling from multiplied sources, maintain the luxuriancy of the groves: Nor less miraculous is the temperature of the air, at all times of the year alike salubrious, constantly mild as the breath of spring.

Bordering on [the desert which surrounds] this seat,—eastward is the country of the Hither

Ethiopians. On the south, opposite Arabia, TROGDOLYTES occupy a region stretching to the Red Sea. Westward, are seated the Simoes, a colony of Ethiopians. Northward, are found the Nasamones, a SYRTIC TRIBE, who batten on wrecks, lurking about the coast on shallows with which they are acquainted, ready to board ships which are stranded *.

The Hammonians live in cottages interspersed through their verdant recess; the middle of the wood is the site of a citadel surrounded by a triple wall.

30. The first rampart encloses the ancient palace of their kings; within the second are lodged the prince's wives, children, and concubines,—here, likewise, is the oracle of the god; in the outward circle of bastions were

* In this paragraph is a complication of geographical errors. 1st. A pervading inaccuracy is, that the nations enumerated are considerably remote: whereas the word "*accolæ*" is supposed to imply immediate vicinity—but by construing "*sedes*" literally, [put, by Synecdoche, for "the Libyan deserts,"] the apparent magnitude of the error has hitherto been strangely aggravated. 2dly. TROGDOLYTES is not so much the proper name of a particular people, as a name common to tribes who live in caves. 3dly. Unless Curtius means, by "Nasamones," a colony of the Nasamones, he has placed on the north the same horde which the map of Ptolemy places on the west; and the SYRTES, (as the QUICKSANDS infesting two bays on the coast of Africa proper, were by eminence called; and from which the appellation, Syrtic tribe, was derived,) were distant from the desert the whole breadth of Marmarica and Cyrenaica.

posted the royal armed attendants and body-guards.

In the bosom of a second grove of Hammon, is the "fountain of the sun." At sun-rise, its waters were tepid; at mid-day, cold;—but the stream, beginning to grow warm at sun-set, by midnight rose to ebullient heat: thence, as morning approached, its temperature languished, at day-break constantly found in a tepid state*.

The image here adored for Hammon, is not in the human form; but is a diminutive figure

* Of the existence of this curious fountain there can be no doubt. It is particularly described by Pliny, ii. 103; and Pomponius Mela, i. 8. It is also referred to by Silius Italicus, iii. 669; by Ovid, *Met.* xv. 309; and by the more philosophical Lucretius, vi. 848. The *heat* of this fountain, (we are indebted to Mr. Good, the translator of Lucretius, for these observations,) was, unquestionably, caused by subterranean inflammable substances in a state of ignition: its alternation of *cold* in the day-time may have been produced, and especially in the summer season, by evaporation from the groves that surrounded it. The fountain, like the pool of Bethesda, John, v. 2—4, might be a hot spring, with a tide recurring once in twenty-four hours. Lucretius endeavours to account for its phenomena, on the principles of the Epicurean theory: but we know so little of the interior structure of the earth, that the different causes of subterranean heats and fires seem to elude satisfactory explanation on any theory. If we ascribe the heat to the inflammation of combustible substances, the regular alternation of cold is a difficulty beyond the powers of philosophy to resolve. It is an extraordinary fact, that the ice in the celebrated cavern of *Grace Dieu*, is plentiful and solid during the summer, and almost wasted in the course of winter.

of the Libyan ram, composed of an emerald and other gems *. When it was consulted, the priests bore it about in a golden ship, from the sides of which hung silver goblets; matrons and virgins followed, singing, in their national manner, an inharmonious hymn: by which they hoped to influence Jupiter to deliver an unambiguous oracle.

31. As the king was approaching, the senior priest saluted him "son," affirming, 'That his 'father, Jupiter, bestowed that title †.' Alex-

* The original passage: *Id quod pro deo colitur, non eandem effigiem habet quam, vulgo, diis artifices accommodaverunt:* UMBILICO *maxime similis est habitus, smaragdo et gemmis coagmentatus:* has highly perplexed the commentators. The ingenious conjectural reading of Isaac Vossius, the translator embraces as most satisfactory: for *umbilico*, he simply substitutes *umbriculo*, a word not in the circle of dictionaries, but formed, by analogy, from *umber*, a nondescript rather than a mongrel sheep. The translator supposes, that if *umbriculo* be received, the diminutive power of the word should be taken to relate, rather to the size of the image, than to the age of the ram. The Libyan rams had often four, and sometimes six, horns curiously twisted: this, added to the caution with which the priests would repel the too inquisitive stranger, might make it difficult to describe, as well as to learn, the exact figure of the idol.

It has been asked; "Why the twisted horns? why such a sym-"bol as the ram?" A branch of Egyptian superstition, the translator SUPPOSES it to have been nothing more than the sign in the zodiac, Aries; and that the "horn-crowned Hammon," so different from the other representations of Jupiter, was allusive of Nature at a particular stage in the revolving seasons.

† It is mentioned by Plutarch, that some have maintained, that the priest meant to say, ὦ παιδιον, *my son;* but, from his imperfect acquaintance with the Greek tongue, said παι διος, *son of Jupiter:*

ander replied, 'That he accepted it, and per-'ceived a token of its validity:' forgetting that he was a mortal man. He then inquired, 'Whether his father destined him to the em-'pire of the globe?' The hierophant, with concerted adulation, declared, 'That he should 'govern the whole earth.' Afterwards, the king proceeded to inquire, 'Whether all* who 'conspired the death of his father had been 'punished?' The response was, 'That the 'crime of no one could hurt the memory of 'his father: but that all the murderers of 'Philip had suffered punishment.' It was added, 'That he should continue invincible 'till he joined the assembly of the gods.' Alexander then, having sacrificed, presented gifts to the priests, and to Hammon. Afterwards his friends, permitted to consult the oracle, merely sought to know, 'Whether it 'sanctioned their yielding to their king divine 'honours?' The priest answered, 'That it was 'agreeable to Jupiter, that they should render 'to their victorious king the honours of di-'vinity.'

but this is refining to excess; for while Curtius makes the priest say no more than *son*, what is added, shows him to have spoken as the representative of Jupiter;—and Justin asserts, that the priests of Hammon acted a deliberate part, to which they had been suborned.

* Alexander Lyncestes had been spared, ante, p. 119; now in custody for a conspiracy against himself, ante, p. 256.

Any person who had sagaciously weighed the credit due to the oracle, must indeed have perceived the inanity and delusion of its echoes. But when fortune has induced men to confide entirely in herself, she commonly makes them more avaricious of glory, than able to sustain it. Alexander, therefore, not only suffered himself to be called Jupiter's son, but required it: thus designing to heighten, but impairing, the lustre of his exploits. And the Macedonians, accustomed to monarchical government, yet retaining a greater semblance of liberty than other nations, when the king affected immortality, more pertinaciously revolted against his extravagance than was expedient for either party. But those things I reserve, to follow the order of time.

CHAP. VIII.

The king founds Alexandria. Appoints administrations for Egypt, Lybia, and other provinces. Catastrophes of Hector and Andromachus. Minor details. Alexander marches from Syria toward the Euphrates.

32. RETURNING from Hammon, Alexander had now come to the lake Mareotis, not greatly distant from the island Pharos. Having surveyed the situation, the king primarily designed to build a city on the island — — Afterwards regarding the island as too small for a metropolis, he selected that place on which Alexandria, named after its founder, at present stands. Embracing the whole extent of ground between the lake and the sea, he assigned eighty stadia for the circuit of the walls. Having appointed officers to superintend their construction, he proceeded to Memphis.

Olymp. cxii. 1. *A. C.* 332. *Ætat. Alex.* 25. *Reg.* 5.

Alexander felt a strong inclination, laudable had it been well-timed, to visit the interior of Egypt, and even Ethiopia. The celebrated palace of Memnon and Tithonus was about to draw him, eager to explore antiquity, almost as far as the tropic of Cancer. But the impending

war, of which the weightier business was unperformed, denied time for excursions comparatively idle.

He constituted Æschylus the Rhodian, and Peucestes the Macedonian, subgovernors* of Egypt, leaving with them four thousand men to garrison the country: he commissioned Polemon, with thirty gallies, to defend the mouths of the Nile. Apollonius was the king's lieutenant over Lybia, Cyrenaica, and Marmarica. Cleomenes was appointed to receive the revenues of those countries, and of Egypt.

The king's edicts transplanting to Alexandria families from places contiguous, a great population was collected in the new capital. It is affirmed, that when Alexander was marking out the walls of the future town with boiled-barley paste, according to the Macedonian custom †,—birds in flocks came and devoured it: After many persons had regarded this as an unfavourable presage, the soothsayers announced it to indicate, 'That the new mart would be the constant resort of strangers, and would supply several countries with provisions.'

* Arrian informs us, that the administration of Egypt was committed to Doloaspus, an Egyptian, as chief governor.

† So Curtius alone. Arrian, Plutarch, Strabo, Valerius Maximus, and Marcellinus, state that the use of the barley-paste was accidental, and occasioned by the deficiency of lime or chalk.

33. Alexander, afterwards descending the [Eastern branch of the] Nile,—Hector, Parmenio's son, in the flower of life, from eagerness to follow the king, in whose favour he ranked high, embarked in a skiff into which more people had crowded than it could carry. Presently the vessel swamped. Hector long struggled in the current: his clothes penetrated with wet, and his sandals closely bound to his feet, impeded his swimming: he gained the bank, with remaining life: respiration, which had been repressed during the conflict with the suffocating flood, laboured with sudden liberty: the other persons in the boat had escaped to the opposite shore, and, for want of restoring attentions, the unfortunate youth expired. The king, much afflicted, bestowed on the corpse a sumptuous funeral.

His grief is aggravated by the catastrophe of Andromachus, lieutenant of Syria, whom the Samaritans had burnt alive. To avenge his murder, Alexander marched with all practicable expedition. On his arrival, they delivered up to him the instigators of the atrocious deed, whom he punished with death. He nominated Memnon the successor of Andromachus.

Of several Grecian cities he gave up the [Persian] regents to the popular assemblies. Among those, Aristonicus and Chrysolaus, aban-

doned to the Methymneans,—the people, for their unjust acts, hurled* from the walls. Thus were they killed.

Then he gave audience to ambassadors from the Athenians, the Rhodians, and the Chians. The Athenians congratulated the victor; entreating him to liberate the GRECIAN captives:—The Rhodians, aggrieved by his garrisons, demanded redress:—All these suits seeming reasonable, were granted.

To the Mitylenians, in consideration of their tried fidelity, he restored their hostages; and remunerated their aid in money, by annexing to their jurisdiction a considerable territory. The kings of Cyprus, who had revolted from Darius, to coöperate, with a fleet, at the siege of Tyre, he rewarded with honours proportioned to their services. He then sent Amphoterus, his admiral, to deliver Crete from the Persian and the Spartan arms; (both had invaded Crete;) and he especially charged him to reclaim the sea from pirates, with which it had been covered while the two kings had been engaged in land operations. After these ar-

* HURLED *from the walls.* Commentators have proposed various conjectural emendations of the original, in which the translator cannot see a difficulty. *Tortos,* here, is not TORTURED, but HURLED.

rangements, he dedicated to the Tyrian Hercules a bowl and thirty goblets of gold.

Now, prepared to fall on Darius, he led his army toward the Euphrates.

CHAP. IX.

The new army of Darius retrogrades, to encamp on the Bumadus. Alexander passes the Euphrates and the Tigris. Skirmish with Satropates.

34. DARIUS having ascertained that Alexander had turned aside into Africa, deliberated whether he should remain on the borders of Mesopotamia, or retire farther into his dominions. He was persuaded that the remote provinces would be excited, by his presence, to engage in the war with vivacity; which under the satraps were slow in arming.—But fame had circulated, by convenient agents, that Alexander would strike with all his forces into whatever region he might remove; not ignorant of the invader's invincible perseverance, he therefore directed levies from countries far distant to assemble at Babylon. The Bactrians, Scythians, and Indians, repaired thither; and, with these,

the other nations mustered their proportion of troops. His army, more numerous, by nearly half its amount, than it had been in Cilicia,—many of the men were without weapons; which the highest exertion was used to supply. The horses, as well as the men, of the cavalry, were provided with breast-plates and greaves of iron. The soldiers who, before, had javelins; received, in addition, swords and shields. That his cavalry might be stronger than the former, horses in droves were dispersed among his foot to be broken in. Of chariots, armed with sithes, there were two hundred; the grand dependance of the Barbarians, as they imagine such machines panic-strike an enemy. Each was drawn by four horses abreast: The two poles [one between each pair of horses] were armed in the front with projecting iron spears: The transverse beam*, to which the horses were yoked, carried at either end three swords: To the spokes of the wheels shorter blades were laterally appended; and to the fellies were fastened sithes; other sithes pointed [from the axle-trees] toward the ground: to mow in pieces every thing in the way of the precipitated car.

35. His army, thus constituted and equipped, Darius marched from Babylon. On his right flowed the noble Tigris; and the Euph-

* In position, the SPLINTER-BAR of modern carriages; but massy.

rates covered his left. His forces filled the plains of Mesopotamia. Then having passed the Tigris,—learning that the enemy was not far distant, he sent forward Satropates, general of cavalry, with a thousand chosen horse. And Mazæus, with six thousand cavalry, was detached,—to defend the passage of the Euphrates; and to waste and burn the country which the invader was approaching. Darius deemed, that Alexander's forces, bringing no provisions, but depending on pillage, might be overcome by famine: while to his own troops supplies would be conveyed by land and by the Tigris.

Now, the Persian king had reached the village Arbela*, which was soon to be made renowned by his defeat†. Leaving here the greater part of his provisions and baggage, he

* *The village Arbela.* Arrian makes it a city. Strabo speaks of it as a memorable residence, founded, according to tradition, by Arbelus the son of Athmoneus. It was probably unwalled, and, on that account, termed by Curtius a village. The Hague, one of the most considerable towns in Holland, defended indeed by fosses and drawbridges, but destitute of walls, is called a village by geographers, although it might vie with many capitals in Europe, the splendid residence of the high colleges of the republic, of the chief magistrate, and of the foreign ambassadors.

† *Renowned by his defeat.* Darius lost the battle near the stage-town Gaugamela, in Aturia, a district divided from Arbela by the Lycus. Gaugamela, or "the inn for camels," was so named by Darius the son of Hystaspes, who assigned this domain, for the supply of camel-forage, to carriers of provisions for the royal table. Strabo, l. xvi. Compare the plenty mentioned, below, p. 413. The Macedonians, seeing Gaugamela to be an obscure place, circu-

laid a bridge across the Lycus, over which the passage of his army consumed five days. Then he advanced about eighty stadia, and encamped near the bank of the Bumadus. This position was convenient for his infantry and cavalry to parade and manœuvre; an immense field, without roots of trees or stumpy bushes: and the eye had a free prospect to objects very remote. Where the ground swelled, Darius ordered it to be levelled; extending the elevated plain.

36. Macedonian scouts having calculated the enemy's force, on a distant survey,—their report scarcely induced Alexander to believe, that after the slaughter of so many thousands, the recruited army of Darius had risen above its former strength. Contemning danger, particularly danger from superior numbers, the hero in eleven days reached the Euphrates. Having laid a bridge, he ordered his cavalry over, followed by the phalanx: Mazæus, who had been sent with six thousand horse to oppose his passage, not daring to risk a conflict.

Alexander gave a few days to his soldiers, not of rest, but [of easy marching] to recruit their spirits. Then he resumed a vigorous pursuit; apprehensive of Darius' retiring to a remote part of his empire,—whither, he should

lated the account, in their reports and histories, that the victory was gained near Arbela. STRABO, *ibid.*

have to follow through natural deserts, or regions laid waste. On the fourth day* he gains the bank of the Tigris, higher up than Arbela. All the country beyond the river, recently fired, was yet smoking; for wherever Mazæus went, he spread conflagration as though he had been the invader. As the undispersed smoke created artificial darkness, Alexander suspected an ambuscade. The scouts announcing all to be safe, he sent forward some horsemen to try the ford. At the first plunge, the water reached the chests of the horses; and, at the middle of the stream, it flowed as high as their necks.

The East has not another river equally rapid: many torrents fall into it, sweeping stones along its bed. The name Tigris was given from its swiftness; an arrow in Persic is called *tigris*.

37. The infantry, in two divisions, flanked by the horse, waded without much difficulty as far as the mid-channel. Passing among the foot, the king was the first to gain the opposite bank; whence, with his hand, because his voice could not be heard, he directed his soldiers to the proper ford. But they could scarcely keep their feet, now betrayed by slippery stones, and

* The distance from Thapsacus to Mosul is near three hundred miles; and commentators have doubted that Alexander could traverse it in four days:—The translator does not apprehend Curtius to affirm this; but that Alexander, having moved for some days with moderated progress, passed the remaining distance in four days.

now supplanted by the rushing stream. The chief difficulty was theirs who carried loads: hindered from governing themselves, they were borne away into the rapid whirlpools: As every one endeavoured to reclaim his wreck, they struggled more with each other than with the torrent: packs of baggage, floating on the water, beat many of them down. The king exhorted them, 'To take care of their arms; 'he would make good their other losses.' Consternation prevented some from following the king's orders and advice: his words were drowned by the mutual clamour of others. At length, alighting on a ford where the current was less rapid, they gained the shore; having lost nothing but a small quantity of baggage.

38. The army might have been destroyed, had a Persian dared to conquer: but Alexander's uniform fortune kept the enemy aloof. Thus he passed the Granicus—where so many thousand horse and foot guarded the opposite bank: thus, in the defiles of Cilicia, he vanquished an immense host.

His extravagant daring is absolved from censure, when we consider, that the result of an enterprize never permitted the question, "Has he not acted absurdly?"

Mazæus, had he fallen on the Macedonians

during their confused passage, might doubtless have defeated them; they were on the bank, and under arms, when some of his squadrons appeared. He had sent forward but a thousand cavalry. Alexander, despising this scanty force, ordered Ariston, commander of the Pæonian horse, to charge at full speed. The Pæonians behaved gallantly; Ariston, distinguishing himself, launched his spear into the throat of Satropates, the Persian general; and pursuing him into the midst of the adverse squadrons, unhorsed him. The fugitive now resisting, Ariston cut off his head. Laying this at the feet of the king, he obtained high plaudits.

CHAP. X.

Alexander's soldiers terrified by a lunar eclipse. Mazæus prevented from burning the country, they obtain abundant supplies. Intercepted letters of Darius. Death of the queen.

39. ENCAMPED here two days, the king gave the army marching orders against the morrow. But, about the first watch, the moon became eclipsed, despoiled of her reflected lus-

tre*. Afterwards a bloody hue, suffusing her face, entirely tarnished her light. The soldiers, previously filled with anxiety, on account of the approaching conflict, are struck with religious awe, which is followed by boding terrors. They complained, 'That they were led towards 'the bounds of the earth in defiance of the 'gods: rivers refused them a passage, and stars 'withdrew their light. Before them lay im-'mense, unpeopled regions. The blood of so 'many thousands was about to be shed to gra-'tify the restless pride of one man, disgusted 'with his native land, disavowing his father, 'and madly affecting affinity with heaven.' Their murmurs bordered on open sedition. Alexander, undisturbed, required the Egyptian sages, whom he esteemed as superior astronomers, to disclose their sentiments respecting the phenomenon, in the presence of his generals, and minor officers, whom he had summoned to head-quarters. These philosophers well knew, that the celestial bodies perform their revolutions in appointed periods of time, and that the moon suffers an eclipse whenever it passes under the shadow of the earth, or is otherwise shut out from the sun: nevertheless, they withheld from the multitude the true cause of the

* The eclipse happened on the twentieth of September, Olymp. cxii. 2. eleven days before the battle.

appearance; affirming, 'That the sun was the 'planet of Greece; as the moon was of Persia, '—and that a lunar eclipse portended the 'slaughter and overthrow of the Barbarians.' In confirmation, they recited ancient accounts of Persian kings, who had been warned by occultations of the moon, 'That to fight were to 'rebel against the gods.'

Nothing has more influence over the many than superstition. The populace, otherwise turbulent, cruel, and fickle, when carried away by a solemn imposture, yield that obedience to soothsayers which they refuse to their rulers. Thus the answer of the Egyptians, circulated among the soldiers, revived their drooping hopes, and inspired them with new confidence.

40. Alexander, availing himself of their ardour, decamped at the second watch: marching with the Tigris on his right, the Gordæan mountains on his left*. Proceeding in this direction, he was informed by his scouts that Darius was approaching. He, therefore, having formed the order of battle, led in person the van. But it was a flying body of about a thousand Persians, left behind to maraude, that had

* The true name or situation of these mountains, called by Strabo, the Gordyæan, by Ptolemy (as above) the Gordæan, and by Arrian, the Sogdian mountains, cannot be ascertained.

been mistaken for an army. Thus, when circumstances cannot be accurately measured, fear magnifies the danger. The king, discovering the fact, with a small band chased the enemy, who flew precipitately; he killed several, and took some prisoners. Parties of cavalry he then detached to gain intelligence, and to rescue from conflagration the villages fired by the Barbarians; who, in their retreat, had thrown burning torches on the roofs of the houses, and on the corn-stacks: before the flames could spread downwards, they were extinguished. Here were found a great quantity of grain, and an abundance of other useful stores. This stimulated the soldiers to press close upon the enemy, whom they "must check in the work "of destruction, or every thing will be con-"sumed."—Impending distress converted them to reason. Mazæus, who before devastated at leisure, now satisfied to escape, abandoned to the invaders substantial resources, for the major part untouched.

Alexander now discovered that Darius was distant but one hundred and fifty stadia. Therefore, that he might store up, to redundance, every kind of provisions, he remained four days in the same station.

41. Letters, at this time, were intercepted from Darius to the Greeks in the Macedonian

army, urging them, 'Either to kill, or to betray 'the king.' Alexander had it in meditation to read these letters to the assembled army, as he felt entire reliance on the affection and fidelity of the Greeks. But Parmenio dissuaded him: 'It is inexpedient to infuse such temptations 'into the minds of soldiers; the king would 'thus be committed to the treason of any indi-'vidual; and avarice does not scruple at a 'crime.' The counsel was adopted.

Now Alexander broke up his encampment. In the course of the march, one of the eunuchs who attended the consort of Darius, reported, that, seized with illness, she scarcely respired. Worn down with sorrow, and the fatigue of incessant travelling, the queen had swooned in the arms of her mother-in-law and her two daughters. Presently a second messenger announced that she was dead. Not less afflicted than if the melancholy information had related to his mother, the king passionately sobbed: a torrent of tears escaped him, as though he had been Darius. He immediately repaired to the tent, in which the mother of Darius was sitting by the corpse. When the king beheld the deceased queen stretched on the ground, the violence of his grief returned. The mother of Darius, reminded by the present calamity of past misfortunes, strained to her bosom the two

royal virgins; in mutual distress, they were *her* powerful supporters, to whom she owed consolation. At her side stood the infant prince *, the most affecting object for commiseration, inasmuch as he was yet insensible of calamities in which he had the deepest share. A witness of Alexander's sorrow might have supposed him to be a mourner among his own relatives, and that, instead of administering, he needed comfort. During an interval he fasted. He appointed a splendid funeral in the Persian manner. How worthy does he seem, by courtesy and continence, of the reward which he afterwards obtained! Darius' consort he saw but once, at the commencement of her captivity; and then it was rather Darius' mother, than her, that he visited. Her matchless beauty he regarded, not as an incentive to violation, but as inviting him to display the true lustre of a conqueror.

42. In the alarm created by the mournful occurrence, a domestic eunuch of the queen, named Tyriotes, escaped through a gate, guarded with the less vigilance, because it was in the rear of the camp. Arrived at the Persian quar-

* Ochus, the son of Darius, now almost eight years old. With the princesses and queens, he had been a captive almost two years.

ters, and arrested by the centinels, he was conducted to the royal marquee, uttering lamentations and rending his garments. Darius, when he beheld him, agitated with complicated presentiments of occasions for grief, doubtful what weightiest ill to fear, thus spoke: "Thy coun- "tenance is charged with some overwhelming "disaster: conceal nothing from a disciple of "adversity; for I have learned to be unhappy: "to know the full measure of calamity, is a "consolation. Speak, then! Hast thou to an- "nounce (what I most suspect and dread to "name) the violation of my wife and daugh- "ters; to me, and I believe to them, more "shocking than the last torture?" Tyriotes replied: "The gods forbid it! No, Sir, all the "sacred respect which subjects can pay to "queens, is preserved to yours by the conquer- "or: but your royal consort a few hours since "resigned her life." While, at this, the tent resounded with lamentations, which spread through the camp,—Darius, concluding that she had been killed for refusing to yield up her honour, frantic with agony, exclaimed: "What "is my crime, Alexander? Which of your re- "latives have I destroyed, that you should thus "requite me with barbarity? You have been "my unprovoked enemy: but admitting your

" war to be just, ought it to fall on women?" Hereupon Tyriotes swore, by the gods of Persia, ' That no severity had been offered her: ' nay, Alexander deeply lamented her death, ' showing as much emotion as his sovereign, ' her royal husband, could have shown.' These words increased the perturbation of Darius, who misconstrued the motive of Alexander's attention to his captive queen, suspecting a criminal intimacy. Having, therefore, dismissed every one from his presence, except Tyriotes, able to repress his tears, but not his sighs, he uttered these words: " Look to thyself, Tyriotes! You " must not delude me with lies: the torture is " at hand to wring the truth from thee. I con- " jure thee, by the gods, relieve me from sus- " pense! If thou still veneratest thy king, tell " what I am impatient to know, and ashamed " to inquire. Did the youthful conqueror " dare"——? Tyriotes, offering his body to the rack, called the gods to witness, ' That the ' uniform virtue of the queen had been inviol- ' ably respected.' At length, Darius, believing what the eunuch affirmed, veiled his head, and wept. After an interval, while tears were yet gushing, he uncovered his face, and lifting up his hands toward heaven, cries: " Ye gods of " my country! my first petition is, that you

" will confirm to myself the kingdom: but if " my dethronement be decreed, then I pray " that no other may be king of Asia, than this " just enemy, this humane conqueror."

CHAP. XI.

Darius, by a third embassy, sues for peace. The advice of Parmenio. Alexander's reply.

43. ALTHOUGH Darius, having failed in two applications* for peace, had latterly, in all his measures, contemplated only war,—yet, overcome by the virtue of his enemy, he deputed ten of his principal relatives to convey fresh overtures. Alexander, in council, admitted them to audience. The senior ambassador spoke: " Darius, now, this third time, solicits " peace from Alexander. To this he is not " compelled by necessity, but drawn by admi- " ration of your clemency and continence. " Under so generous a conqueror, my master " regarded his mother, wife, and children, as " captives, no farther than as he felt the

* Ante, p. 343 and 378.

" want of their society. You shield, with pa-
" ternal attentions, the virtues of his surviving
" relatives: you honour them as queens, leav-
" ing undiminished the splendour which be-
" longed to their former fortunes. I read in
" your face as much concern as the features of
" Darius expressed when we left his presence:
" yet he mourns for a wife—you for an enemy.
" Were you not detained by funereal charities
" to her remains, now you would lead the
" marshalled battle. Is it surprising, if Da-
" rius, overcome by such benignity, desires
" peace? What occasion is there for arms,
" when enmity has subsided. Up to the river
" Halys, on the frontier of Lydia, he heretofore
" offered you empire. Now he tenders you all
" the provinces between the Hellespont and the
" Euphrates, as a dowry with his daughter in
" marriage. His son Ochus he offers to leave
" in your hands as a hostage for his faithful
" adherence to peace. Should you be willing to
" restore to him, with his mother, both his vir-
" gin daughters, he entreats you to accept three
" talents of gold*. Well assured of your mo-
" deration, I venture to suggest, that it were
" your interest, at this conjuncture, not only to
" entertain, but to anticipate an application for

* About thirty-six talents of silver.

" peace. Look backward over the vast coun-
" tries in your rear, and contemplate the ex-
" panse which remains unconquered. An enor-
" mous empire is necessarily insecure; the hand
" with difficulty holds an object too big to
" grasp; ships of unwieldy bulk refuse to be
" managed. I am ready to attribute the multi-
" plied losses of Darius to the number of un-
" defended points, which, in possessions too
" extended, invite attack. Some things are
" easier to acquire than to retain. We snatch
" by one movement, what we struggle in vain
" to keep. Even the death of my master's
" consort abridges the field which you had for
" the exercise of magnanimous generosity."

44. Alexander now desired the legation to withdraw: And he required his council to pronounce what might be expedient. All the members remained silent a considerable time, no one daring to deliver his opinion, lest it should not coincide with the king's. At length, Parmenio spoke to this effect: " Sir! I, heretofore*, " moved you to accept a ransom for the cap-
" tives taken at Damascus, by which a consi-
" derable supply of money would have been
" obtained; whereas, merely to guard the pri-
" soners, employs a number of brave men.

* Arrian relates that Parmenio gave this advice, when the second letter of Darius reached Alexander at Tyre.

" And I now think that it would be judicious " to exchange an old woman and two young " girls, (incumbrances retarding the army,) " for three thousand talents of gold. Further, " a noble empire is attainable by a compact " which will terminate the risk and fatigue of " war: no monarch before you has possessed " the range of country, extending from the " Ister to the remote Euphrates. In truth, " Sir, it were desirable that your views should " revert home to Macedon, rather than excurse " to Bactriana and India." This speech was heard with displeasure by the king; who, as soon as it was concluded, said: " Thus " should I prefer money to glory, were I Par- " menio: but Alexander cannot do a merce- " nary act. Be assured, I will not sell my fu- " ture fortunes. If it be expedient to restore " the captives, let us liberate them without " ransom."

45. The ambassadors readmitted, the king pronounced his answer: " You will inform " Darius, that such of my acts as he ascribes " to clemency and liberality, were not intended " to court his friendship, but were tributes to " humanity. With captives and with women I " am not at war. But let my deadly foe remain " armed; so it behoves him. Were he at length " sincere in suing for peace, perhaps I might

" deliberate whether to grant it: but since he " has attempted, by largesses, to suborne my " friends to become my murderers, and my sol- " diers to revolt, it is my part—not to meet " him as I would a just enemy, but to hunt him " down as an assassin who lives by the bowl and " dagger. Should I accept the conditions of " peace which you bring, it were to acknow- " ledge him conqueror. All that lies behind " the Euphrates he liberally offers me. Where " do you meet me to receive this audience? I " have passed the Euphrates. My camp stands " beyond the limits which Darius offers me " as a portion with his daughter. Drive me " hence, that I may be sensible that you cede " what is your own. With equal generosity, " your master proposes to give me his daugh- " ter, whom he would else marry to one of his " slaves. It is flattering to be preferred to " Mazæus, as a son-in-law. Depart, therefore, " and repeat to your monarch, that all the do- " minions that he has lost, and all that he re- " tains, are rewards which await success in bat- " tle. This must determine the boundaries of " both empires; each of us must be content " with what the fortune of to morrow shall as- " sign."

The ambassadors replied, ' That as war ' dwelt immovably in his mind, he acted can-

'didly in not deluding them with expectations 'of peace. They, therefore, desired permission 'to return to their sovereign, since it was ne- 'cessary that he should likewise prepare for 'battle.' Having been dismissed, they reported to Darius, 'That he was on the eve of an 'engagement.'

CHAP. XII.

Order of battle and amount of the Persian army. Panic of the Macedonians. Alexander encamps on the hill evacuated by Mazæus.

46. THE king of Persia immediately detached Mazæus with three thousand cavalry, to secure the passes.

Alexander, having attended to their close the obsequies of the queen, left in his camp the heavy baggage under the protection of a small guard, and advanced against the enemy. He conducted his foot in two divisions, his cavalry covering the wings: the waggon train moved in the rear.

Alexander directed Menidas to go forward, with some squadrons on the gallop, and exa-

mine the position of Darius. This partizan, having approached the post which Mazæus occupied, not daring to advance further, returned, and declared, that he could ascertain nothing, having merely heard the clamour of voices, and the neighing of horses.

Mazæus, on his part, perceiving the Macedonian scouts at a distance, repaired to the Persian camp, to announce the approach of the enemy. Darius, desirous to decide the conflict in the open plains, summoned his forces to arms, and marshalled them in order of battle. In the left wing moved a thousand Bactrian horse; as many Dahæ; four thousand Arachosians and Susians,—attached to this division, fifty chariots armed with sithes: Bessus, next to the chariots, with eight thousand Bactrian horse, and two thousand Massagetæ: After this column, the infantry of several nations, not intermixed, but in distinct corps*: Following these, Ariobarzanes and Orobates led the native Persians, with the Mardians and Sogdians; these two generals had their respective posts,—while Orsines commanded in chief: he was descended from one of the seven Persian princes†; and he

* The Persians keep the different nations, in their armies, in separate bodies.——SPELMAN'S *Cyrus*, vol. i. p. 89.

† See ante, p. 163. Orsines might claim Cyrus as an ancestor, by the maternal line.

traced his pedigree to Cyrus, the founder of the empire: In succession, marched other nations, imperfectly known to the people with whom they acted; Phradates led a powerful levy of Caspians, supported by fifty war chariots: Then came the Indian contingent; and bands from several tribes seated on the coast of the Red Sea, mere names, rather than auxiliaries: After this train moved another savage horde, who brought fifty chariots: Then the troops contributed by the Less Armenia: The line was continued by the Babylonians, the Belitæ*, and soldiers from the Cossæan mountains: Next, the Gortuans; originally settlers from Eubœa, who having formerly emigrated with a returning army of Medes, had degenerated, retaining neither in language nor manners, any vestiges of Grecian extraction: There followed the Phrygians and Cataonians. The rear was closed by the Parthians, masters of that region which the Parni, a people who came from Scythia, now possess. Such was the order of the left wing†.

47. The right was formed of levies from the

* Probably a select corps deriving their name from Belus.

† The Greek mercenaries, of whom Curtius makes here no mention, Arrian, on the authority of Aristobulus, places in the centre, flanking the household troops. The remnant of the Greeks must have been inconsiderable. See ante, p. 325. n.

Greater Armenia; of the Cadusians; the Cappadocians; the Syrians; the Medes. To these likewise were attached fifty armed chariots. The amount of the whole army was one hundred and forty-five thousand horse, and three hundred thousand foot*. In this array, the Persian forces advanced ten stadia: then halting, they await the enemy under arms.

* With regard to the numbers, the copies of Curtius are supposed to have been corrupted. The MSS. and editions, generally, have 45,000 horse and 200,000 foot; the Geneva edition has 145,000 foot and 600,000 horse. As it is impossible to ascertain what Curtius wrote, the translator has ventured to put down an intermediate sum, at which he arrives by comparing Curtius with himself. Sect. 34, supra, states that Darius took means to make his cavalry greatly exceed the numbers at Issus. The numbers at Issus were 61,200. The translator, therefore, adopts the account of the Geneva edition, with respect to the cavalry. In estimating the sum of the infantry, the translator has kept in view a second aid to calculation in sect. 34; "the army was more numerous by nearly half its "amount than it had been in Cilicia." The translator is therefore induced to offer 300,000 as the probable number of the infantry, making the aggregate 445,000; the former army was 311,200. Whoever is dissatisfied with Curtius thus conjecturally rendered uniform with himself, will look in vain to other ancient authors for satisfaction. Plutarch, without distinguishing the horse and foot, makes their total 1,000,000. Arrian musters only 40,000 horse, while his levies of foot reach 1,000,000. Justin has 100,000 of the former, and 600,000 of the latter. Diodorus, 200,000 horse; 800,000 foot. Orosius, 100,000 and 404,000, respectively. Disagreeing with each other and with Curtius, these historians yet concur, that the army at Arbela comprised levies from more warlike nations, and was essentially more numerous, than the army at Issus. The Macedonian forces consisted of 7,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry.

At this point of time, a panic suddenly seized the army of Alexander; fantastic dangers vibrated before their eyes, and in their breasts lurked terror. Flashing meteors, not unfrequent on nights in summer*, having the appearance of fire, flaming and relapsing around, they took for the lights of Darius' camp, and supposed that they had incautiously proceeded into the midst of the enemy's posts. Mazæus, who commanded the road, might at this hour have struck a great blow. He remained inactive on the eminence which he had seized, satisfied that he was not attacked.

Alexander, informed of the panic of his soldiers, made the signal to halt; and directed them to pile their arms, and take refreshment and rest; declaring that their precipitate fear was unfounded, the enemy at a distance. At length, recovering courage as a body, they resumed their arms. Alexander, however, deemed it proper to remain in the same place, and to fortify his camp.

48. On the following day, Mazæus, who with a select division of cavalry occupied a height overlooking the Macedonian station—it might be because his orders were merely to re-

* Summer is here opposed to winter. Petavius and Scaliger calculate the battle to have been fought about the first of October. See the year, sect. 56, *marg.*

connoitre—repaired to Darius. The Macedonians succeeded to his post, more secure than the plain, and whence they could view the array of the enemy as it proceeded. The mist enveloping the humid hills, however, while it did not preclude a general survey, prevented the Macedonians from distinguishing the separate corps, and minutely tracing their dispositions. The multitude inundated the plains; notwithstanding the distance, of so many thousands the bustling hum filled the ears.

His mind no longer unwavering, the king now balanced his own determination against the counsel of Parmenio; with consideration, admitted too late; for, after advancing so far, to return otherwise than as a victor, would expose him to destruction. Dissembling a moment of anxious hesitation, he sent forward the mercenary Pæonian horse. His infantry he kept divided in two phalanxes, flanking them by his cavalry. At length, progressive day dissipating the mist, the army of Darius was distinctly visible: The Macedonians, either from cheerfulness or impatience, as on the point of engaging, discharged a powerful shout; the Persians replied by acclamations, and the woods and valleys contiguous rung with an appalling sound.

The Macedonians were with difficulty re-

strained from rushing to the charge. Alexander deemed it more judicious, remaining on the hill, to fortify his camp. He directed an entrenchment: this promptly completed, he withdrew to his tent, whence he could survey the marshalled army of the enemy.

CHAP. XIII.

Preludes to the battle in both armies. The Macedonian order of battle. Alexander's address to his troops.

49. HERE, a panorama of the approaching conflict presented itself to Alexander's view. Horses, as well as men, habited in superb coats of mail; preparations for battle diligent and unremitting; generals riding with active zeal along the ranks of the Barbarian armies—connected with things of less moment; such as the murmurs of the multitude, the neighing of horses, and the flashing of arms—disturbed his mind, anxiously revolving plans for the expected action.

Indecisive, or desirous to sound his officers, he summoned a council, requiring them to pronounce what seemed best to be done. Parme-

nio, the most accomplished of his generals: "Rather than a pitched battle, I advise re- "course to stratagem. In the dead silence of "the night the enemy may be overwhelmed: "for nations so discordant in language and "customs, attacked in their sleep, terrified by "unexpected danger and by formidable dark- "ness, will plunge tumultuously together, un- "able to form. But were the Scythians and "Bactrians encountered in the day-time, their "faces hideously rough, their untrimmed ropes "of hair, together with their monstrous sta- "ture, may scare your soldiers, more affected "by imaginary than by rational causes of fear. "Moreover, in a set battle, our small force "may be surrounded by so vast a multitude; "for we have not to fight in the narrow de- "files of Cilicia, but on an open and extended "plain." Almost all concurred with Parmenio. And Polyperchon, in a positive tone, declared, that the victory depended on executing what Parmenio had suggested. The king, fixing his eye on Polyperchon, (for Parmenio, on whom he had been unintentionally severe in the late council, he wished to spare,) then spoke: "To "robbers and way-layers belongs darkness; for "their aim is concealment. But my glory "shall not uniformly be diminished—either by "the absence of Darius, or by the streitness

" of the field, or by stealing a victory in the " night. I am determined on an open attack. " I would rather have to lament failure, than " to be ashamed of success. On the other " hand, my intelligence states, that the Per- " sians mount reliefs of guards, and remain " under arms, so that it were impossible to sur- " prize them. For battle, therefore, keep your- " selves prepared." With this charge, he dismissed them to take refreshment.

50. Darius, conjecturing that the enemy were on the point of acting as Parmenio had recommended, gave orders, ' That the horses ' should stand ready bridled, and a great part ' of the forces constantly on duty *, and that ' the nightly watches should be kept with ex- ' traordinary care.' Fires illuminated his whole camp; and he in person, with his generals and relatives, rode around the divisions which were under arms. ' The sun, whom the Persians ' denominate *Mithres,* and the *sacred and eter-* ' *nal fire,*' Darius invoked, ' to inspire his army ' with heroism worthy the exploits and glory ' of their ancestors.' And he affirmed, ' That,

* This unusual measure; the gloomy silence, with the anxious expectation and fatigue of a restless night, discouraged and exhausted the spirits of the whole army, and infused double terror into those who had witnessed the miserable disasters on the banks of the Granicus and the Pinarus. *Gillies,* after Arrian.

'if human discernment could read tokens of 'celestial aid, the gods were their allies. They 'had lately struck with a panic the Macedoni-'ans, who, still oppressed with imaginary ter-'rors, were throwing down their arms. The 'time had arrived when the guardian deities of 'Persia would punish those maniacs; who had 'a leader not their superior in intellect,—As 'wild beasts are wont, he was so intent on his 'prey, that he had fallen into the snare set be-'fore it.'

In equal solicitude, the Macedonians pass a fearful night, as though the battle were every moment to begin. Alexander himself, never more diffident of his fortune, summoned Aristander to consecrate vows and prayers. The hierophant, habited in white, bearing in his hand sacred herbs, with his head veiled, addressed, jointly with the king, propitiating petitions to Jove, Minerva, and the goddess of victory. When Alexander had finished the rite of sacrifice, he retired to his tent, to dedicate the remainder of the night to repose. But he could not sleep; nor could he intermit the anxious workings of thought. Now, from the ridge of the hill, he meditated to charge the right flank of the Persians; now to drive, with a square front, directly on their centre; now to lead his army obliquely against their left wing.

At length sleep closed his eyes, heavy with mental fatigue.

51. At the dawn of day, the officers, repairing to his tent to receive orders, witnessed with astonishment unusual silence:—He had been accustomed to send for them, sometimes reproving their delay—Now, the decisive crisis impending, he was not risen. Some suspected, that he was not oppressed by sleep, but by fear. None of his guards might presume to enter his tent—although the moment for action was at hand; nor durst the troops take arms, or form into ranks, without their leader's order. After waiting long, Parmenio directed the soldiers to refresh. Circumstances now requiring them to march out [of their entrenched position], Parmenio at length went into the tent: Having pronounced the king's name repeatedly, without effect, he awakened him with his hand: "It is broad day, Sir! The enemy approaches "us, arrayed for battle; while your soldiers, "not under arms, want your orders. Where "is that vigour of mind, which was accus- "tomed to anticipate the most early?" Alexander replied: "Do you imagine that I could "enjoy repose before I had subdued solicit- "ude?" He immediately directed the signal to be made for battle. And when Parmenio went on to express his amazement that the king

could have slept so securely,—" It is easily ex-
" plained," said Alexander; " for while Darius
" was firing the country, razing the villages,
" and destroying the provisions, I was not
" master of serenity: but, now, what should I
" fear, when he offers me battle? He has con-
" summated my wish. But let us postpone
" explanation. Meanwhile, each of you! repair
" to your posts, where I shall be present to
" give you orders."

Rarely—and then more through the entreaties of his friends, than the apprehension of danger—did he fortify himself in mail. Having put on his armour, he joined the soldiers. They had never seen him so cheerful; and, from his intrepid countenance, they augured victory. Having advanced out of the levelled works, the king drew up his forces.

52. On the right flank is stationed an *agema* * (or chosen squadron) of horse, commanded by Clitus: to these were joined the troops of Philotas, and cavalry under other officers. The inner wing of horse was terminated by the troops of Meleager. Next in succession,

* The same term was sometimes applied to a select battalion of foot. Varying with occasions, *agemata* sometimes contained 300, sometimes 3000, men.—Plutarch. *in Eumene*, Diod. lib. xix. Liv. lib. iv. 2. and lib. xxxvii. 40. Polyb. lib. v. 65. Ptolem. *passim*; and Arrian, lib. v.

stood the phalanx. Adjoining the phalanx, the *Argyraspides* * were posted, commanded by Nicanor the son of Parmenio. To these, the division under Cœnos acted as a reserve.—Next, were ranged the Orestæ and the Lyncestæ. Then the foreign corps commanded by Polyperchon, as the deputy of Amyntas †. Philagus led the Balacri ‡, who had recently acceded to the alliance. Such was the order of the RIGHT WING. [And of the CENTRE ‖.] On the left

* *Argyraspides*, i. e. *bearers of silver shields*. Curtius, agreeing with Justin, relates, [infra, book VIII. chap. v. 17.] that Alexander armed his soldiers with shields plated with silver. The term *argyraspides* would appear to be here used by anticipation—unless a small body had been so armed from the spoil of the Persians.

† Amyntas, now absent in Macedon, [see ante, p. 391.] does not return till sometime after the battle. [See infra, book v. chap. v. 6.]

‡ If *Balacri* be a NATIONAL appellative of a small corps, the situation of the country which furnished it has not been ascertained. Raderus, on the authority of Strabo, states, that the inhabitants of Myconé were called φαλαχροις, *bald-heads*, which in the Macedonian language was changed into Βαλαχροις. [*Balacrois.*] This ingenious attempt against the difficulty is open to objections. But those who suppose *Balacri* to be the name of a regiment derived from the officer who embodied or had commanded it, as we say, in English, *Granby's* horse, or the regiment of *Abercrombie*, seem to be discountenanced by the words of the context, "acceded to the alli-" ance."

‖ The translator supplies these words, as assisting explanation; Curtius rarely distinguishes the centre, prolonging the wings till they meet. See ante, p. 314, n. As the left wing, here, consists entirely of horse, all the infantry of the right may be referred to the centre.

of the army, Craterus directed the cavalry of the Peloponnesians, the Achaians, and the Locrians; to which were joined a squadron of Maliens *. On these closed the Thessalian horse, commanded by Philip. Such was the arrangement of the LEFT WING. Alexander, that he might not be surrounded by the adverse multitude, placed behind his main lines a strong division of Illyrians, Greek mercenaries, and light-armed Thracians, in a semicircle, facing to the rear; other bodies of reserve—the Agrians, under Attalus; and the Cretan archers—strengthened the wings, facing sideways. These provisions were made by the Macedonian leader, that if the enemy should attempt to turn the army, he might encounter a prepared opposition. The Thracians had so versatile an order, that they were ready to support the last line, or act with the van. The front was not more fortified than the flanks, nor the flanks better protected than the rear.

53. The forces, thus marshalled, received orders, 'That if the Barbarians shouted on 'propelling the armed chariots, the ranks, pre-'serving silence, were to open, and to let them 'whirl through, assured that they could inflict

* Probably a force contributed by the city Malieus in Thessaly; a small independent band, distinguished from the mass of Thessalians.

'no mischief, if unopposed in their career. But 'if the Barbarians drove forward these engines 'without shouting, the soldiers were to appal 'them by acclamations, and launch their 'darts into the horses, restive with fright.' The commanders of the wings were instructed, 'So to extend them, as to avoid being turned, 'without defrauding the centre of its proper 'support.' The baggage, with the captives, including the mother and children of Darius, were left on a rising ground, at a small distance, under a moderate guard. The left, as at other times, was committed to Parmenio; Alexander in person commanded the right. The armies were yet distant beyond the range of a dart, when Bion, a deserter, galloping up to the king, announced, 'That Darius had planted 'iron caltrops over the ground where he ex- 'pected the Macedonian horse:' and he described the place by an accurate mark, that they might escape the snare. Having ordered the deserter to be detained, Alexander summons his generals, and imparting the information, desires them to apprise the men of the danger, and advance by another track.

As the stunning, complicated din from the two armies, prevented his troops from hearing in a body, Alexander rode from station to sta-

tion, and thus addressed the captains, and such soldiers as stood nearest.

54. " This is our last conflict. How many " regions have we traversed, looking forward " to the victory which we are going to achieve! " The river Granicus; the ridges of Cilicia; " Syria and Egypt conquered by passing " through them, are irresistible incitements to " confidence and glory. The Persian fugi- " tives, overtaken, attempt to fight, merely be- " cause they cannot fly. This is the third day " that they have stood under their loads of ar- " mour, fixed in the same position, scarcely " surviving their terrors. What stronger symp- " tom of despair can they give, than burning " their cities and fields, thus acknowledging, " that whatever they cannot destroy must fall " into our hands? Their empty names for tribes " unknown cannot scare brave men; nor does " it concern the decision of the war, to know " who are called Scythians or Cadusians. Ob- " scurity is the lot of the ignoble. Heroes do " not dwell in oblivion. But unwarlike hordes, " dragged from their dens, bring into the field " nothing but a savage name. To such emi- " nence in manly virtue have you arrived, that " there is not a spot in the whole earth igno- " rant of the Macedonians. Observe the ill-

" appointed corps of the Barbarians: Some " have no weapon but a dart; others poise " stones in a sling; few of them have proper " arms. There stands the greater crowd; here, " the stronger army. Nor do I call you to ex- " ercise intrepidity, unless you see me, an ex- " ample to other soldiers, combating in front of " the banners. As many scars as I gain, I num- " ber so many ornaments of my body. You " well know, that, contented with a small share " of spoil, I expend the rewards of victory to " honour and enrich you. This I have said to " the brave. If there are any others here, let " them know, that having advanced hither, it " is impossible to retreat. Such is the expanse " of country to be retraced; so multiplied are " the rivers and mountains obstructing return; " that to our native land and household gods " a passage can be cut no otherwise than by the " sword."

CHAP. XIV.

The speech of Darius to his army.

55. DARIUS, posted in the left wing*, was environed by a strong column of chosen horse and foot. He viewed with disdain the small numbers of his antagonist; considering him to have enfeebled his line by the elongation of the wings. Conspicuously seated in his lofty car, with looks and gesticulations directed to the troops on the right and left, he commanded attention to his words: "Recently, lords of all "the climes from the Hellespont to the ocean, "we have now to fight, not for glory, but for "safety; and, what we prize above safety, li- "berty. This day will establish or terminate "the largest empire that any age has known. "At the Granicus, an inferior proportion of our "forces were engaged: when vanquished in "Cilicia, we were covered by Syria, and the "Euphrates and the Tigris served as bulwarks "to our dominions — — But if we cannot "make a stand here, no place of retreat re-

* This may be reconciled with the accounts of Arrian and Plutarch, who place him in the centre. See ante, p. 314, n.

" mains; by continued armaments, every thing
" in our rear is exhausted,—the cities are unin-
" habited, the earth is deprived of cultivators.
" Our wives and children, who have followed
" the levies, are but so many spoils prepared
" for the enemy, unless we interpose our bodies
" as a rampart before those dearest objects and
" pledges of affection. On my part, I have
" collected an army, such as the largest plains
" can scarcely contain. I have furnished it
" with horses and arms, and victualled it abun-
" dantly. Lastly; I have selected a field of
" battle where our whole line may act. The
" rest depends on yourselves. Dare to con-
" quer, and you will conquer. The enemy's
" reputation, a frail weapon against determined
" men, despise. You have hitherto feared, as
" intrepidity, mere temerity, which, when the
" first furious fit is exhausted, drops inert, like
" an animal that has lost its sting. These spa-
" cious plains expose the scantiness of the ene-
" my, which the Cilician mountains concealed.
" You perceive thin ranks, wire-drawn wings,
" a centre quite drained. With regard to their
" last line,—it faces to the rear, in readiness to
" fly. Ye gods! were I barely to send among
" them my armed chariots, they might be tram-
" pled to death by the horses. All the victo-
" ries of the war will be transferred to us, if we
" gain this battle. They have no place of re-

" fuge; here the Tigris, there the Euphrates,
" bars them in. Their acquisitions will con-
" duce to their ruin; a heavy booty impedes
" their operations, while our army moves with
" expeditious freedom. Entangled in spoils
" won from us, they may be overwhelmed;
" and the same thing which will cause our
" triumph, will reward it. If the name of a
" people startles any among you, recollect that
" the arms, without the persons, of the Macedo-
" nians are there; for blood has mutually flow-
" ed, and the comparative destruction falls
" more severely on the less numerous army.
" However Alexander may strike the inactive
" and the timid, he is but an individual, and,
" if I can estimate him, rash and absurd, hi-
" therto successful more through our irresolu-
" tion than his own courage. Nothing can be
" permanent which is not built on moderation;
" and though he appears to prosper, ultimate
" punishment awaits his presumption. The
" tenor of all things is subject to sudden vicis-
" situdes, and there is no unmixed felicity. It
" may be the will of the gods, that the Persian
" empire, which a career of success during two
" hundred and thirty years, elevated to the
" highest grandeur, should by a mighty shock
" be chastised rather than overthrown, to re-
" mind us of human frailty, too seldom advert-
" ed to in prosperity. It was recently that we

" carried war into Greece; now we have to re-
" sist the invasion of our native land: thus are
" we tossed by the mutability of fortune; for
" universal empire, which both parties affect,
" eludes the grasp of either. Admitting we
" cannot hope to recover all, let our extremity,
" incapable of aggravation, animate us. My
" mother, my daughters, my son Ochus, heir to
" these dominions, with several princes of the
" blood, and your commanders, equal in dig-
" nity to kings, wear the conqueror's chains.
" The greater part of me languishes in capti-
" vity, but I have reliance on you. Liberate
" my children; restore me those pledges for
" which I am willing to die, my children, my
" mother,—for I have lost my wife in that pri-
" son. Perceive how they all lift up their
" hands, imploring the aid of our national gods,
" and calling on your commiseration, attach-
" ment, and courage, to release them from ser-
" vitude, fetters, and precarious sustenance.
" Can you believe they contentedly obey
" whom they would disdain to govern? But
" the enemy approaches, and the closer danger
" comes, the less what I have said satisfies me.
" By our guardian deities, by the eternal fire
" carried before us on altars, by the dazzling
" sun which rises within the limits of my do-
" minions, by the immortal memory of Cyrus,

" who transferred the empire from the Medes " and Lydians to the Persians; I conjure you " to vindicate our name and nation from the " last disgrace. Full of cheerfulness and con- " fidence, begin the charge, that you may " transmit the glory received from your ances- " tors undiminished to posterity. In your " right hands, you bear liberty, power, and " every future reliance. Whoever despises " death, escapes it; the trembling only are cut " off. I ride in a chariot, not merely to comply " with a national custom, but to be seen by the " army; and I do not restrain you from imitat- " ing me, as I furnish an example, either of " weakness or bravery."

CHAP. XV.

The battle of Arbela.

31 MEANWHILE, Alexander, to avoid the ensnaring artifice, disclosed by the deserter, made a circuit. Further, that he might encounter Darius, who directed the left wing, he caused his army to advance obliquely. Darius, in the same manner, moved to meet him;

Olymp. cxii. 2. *A. C.* 331. *Ætat. Alex.* 26. *Reg.* 6.

having detached Bessus with the Massagetan horse, to charge in flank Alexander's left wing. The armed chariots, which preceded Bessus, on a signal, were discharged in concert against the enemy; driven under a loose rein, that greater numbers, taken unprepared, might be destroyed by the velocity of the shock,—some were dispatched by the pikes projecting from the poles, others were mutilated by the sithes fixed laterally. The Macedonians did not gradually recede, but broke their ranks to fly. Mazæus, also, to increase their consternation, sent round a thousand horse to plunder their baggage; and he expected that the captives, guarded together with it, would, on the appearance of their friends, terminate their confinement.

Of this transaction, Parmenio, who commanded the left wing, was apprised; he therefore sent Polydamas in haste to the king, to represent the danger, and to receive his orders. "Return," said Alexander, "and tell Parmenio, that if we gain the victory, we shall not "only recover our own, but capture all the enemy's baggage. Therefore, let him not weaken "the line, but continue fighting manfully, and, "agreeably to the practice of me and my father "Philip, despise the loss of the baggage."

Meanwhile, the Barbarians were pillaging the camp. The prisoners, having broken their

fetters, and killed the greater part of their guards, armed themselves with whatever was at hand, and, in conjunction with the cavalry, fell upon the Macedonians, who were now exposed to complicated mischief. Several liberated, exulting, acquainted Sisygambis, that Darius was victorious; and that the enemy, defeated with stupendous slaughter, at length had lost all their spoils: for they concluded, that their countrymen, having had every where equal fortune, were now, as victors, traversing the field for plunder. Notwithstanding the liberated Persians exhorted Sisygambis to moderate her grief, yet the mourner preserved the same attitude as before, nor spoke a word, nor did her lips or countenance change colour: but she sat without motion, (I believe fearing that precipitate joy might provoke fortune,) so that the spectators could not form a judgment of her inclination.

57. During these proceedings, Amyntas, a field-officer in the Macedonian cavalry, either by his own act, or by Alexander's order, brought a few troops to support the party with the baggage. But unable to sustain the shock of the Cadusians and Scythians, after a short skirmish, he repaired to the king, having rather witnessed than obstructed the loss of the baggage. Alexander's dissatisfaction disturbed his decision; he

he became apprehensive that impatience to regain their property might make the soldiers quit the line; he therefore detached against the Scythians Aretes with the pikemen denominated *sarissophori**.

Meanwhile, armed chariots (which had broken several companies near the beginning of the line) were driven against the phalanx. The Macedonians, unintimidated, admitted them; the soldiers which had wheeled, stood as a bulwark in a double line, and with coöperating spears, stabbed in the belly the horses on each side as they rushed on at random: then surrounding the arrested machines, they precipitated to the ground those who defended them. Such was the slaughter of horses and charioteers, that the space was filled up; no longer governable, the affrighted animals, by reiterated plungings, broke the harness, and overturned the vehicles. Wounded horses yoked to horses slain, were too weak to drag forward, and too wild with pain and terror to stand still. A few, however, of the chariots penetrated to the rear; as many men as were struck by them met a miserable death; of the sufferers, notwithstanding the

* The *sarissa*, one of the weapons of the Macedonian phalanx, was a pike about twenty-one feet long. See Leland's *History of Philip*, vol. i. p. 82, *et seq.* edit. 1775. The shorter *sarissa*, carried by some descriptions of cavalry, was a javelin.

ground was strewed with their dissevered limbs, several, feeling little anguish from their wounds, while they continued heated, did not resign their weapons, till, through excessive bleeding, they fell down lifeless.

58. Aretes, having killed the captain of the Scythians that were pillaging the baggage, pressed severely upon them :—But the Bactrians arriving, once more turned the fortune of the fight; many Macedonians were trodden down at the first charge, the greater part fled back to Alexander. Hereupon the Persians, shouting in the manner of victors, rush furiously upon the enemy, as though their defeat had been universal. Those that had yielded to fear, Alexander reproved and exhorted, renewing himself the languishing fight: Having thus reinvigorated them, he commanded them to return to the attack.

The Persian right wing was most slender in that part whence the Bactrians * had been de-

* According to sect. 46, ante, the post of the Bactrians is in the left wing: but as no centre is described, and as they stood on the right extremity of that wing, one of the slightest evolutions required in battle, or the transfer to another commander without a change of place, would make them part of the right wing. It is merely justice to Curtius to recollect, that the disparity between the two armies was not less than ten to a unit; so that the right and left of the shorter line could not correspond directly to the left and right of the longer parallel: Either of the Persian wings might cover much more ground

tached to seize the baggage. Alexander therefore attacked their defrauded ranks, with slaughtering execution. Now the left wing of the enemy, expecting to enclose Alexander, fell on his rear. Committed between two hostile bodies, his peril had been great, had not the Agrian cavalry charged the Barbarians that invested him, and forced them to face about to defend themselves. Thus a double front was seen in both armies; both assailing and assailed on the van and rear.

The Bactrians, now returning with a booty of baggage, could not recover their post; the greater part of their squadrons, separating, engaged Macedonian corps wherever chance brought them in collision.

As the main-bodies are closing on each other, the rival kings inflame the battle. At this time, more of the Persians had been slain; the number of the wounded was nearly equal. Darius fought in a car, Alexander on a horse: both sovereigns were guarded by select troops, who would have found their own safety a burden, if deprived of their prince, and would have esteemed it glorious to fall in his presence: Those nearest the king were most involved in danger,

than the Macedonian army; and much of each Persian wing must have been disposable to any new station in or out of the line, having no opponents immediately in front.

as every one of the adverse party sought the honour of killing him.

59. Whether it were an optical illusion, or a real appearance, Alexander's guards believed that they saw an eagle hovering over his head: unscared by the clashing of arms or the groans of dying men, it long appeared to accompany their leader, suspended rather than flying. Aristander, habited in white, and bearing a laurel in his right hand, pointed out to the soldiers, whose attention was absorbed by the fight, this bird, the infallible omen of victory. The drooping were animated to high confidence and intrepidity; these received another impulse when the charioteer of Darius was transfixed with a spear: Neither the Macedonians nor the Persians doubted, that it was the king who fell. Loud acclamations and barbarous howlings disturbed both lines, which had hitherto fought with almost equal advantage. The corps of relatives and domestic guards on the left, in crowds deserted the car, which those on the right received into the middle of their division. Darius, with his sword drawn, deliberated whether he should avoid the disgrace of flight by an honourable death. But recollecting his conspicuous station, he was ashamed to abandon his army, which had not all withdrawn from the field. While hope, half extinct, made him pause, the Persians gradually yielded, and lost their order. Alexander,

who had tired several chargers, fresh mounted, pierced the faces of those that opposed him, and the backs of the flying. Now the conflict ceased —to be succeeded by a massacre; and Darius turned his car, as a fugitive. The victors hung upon the rear of the route. Clouds of dust obstructed the view. The pursuers wandered not unlike men in the dark; rallying occasionally at a parole signal. The smacking of the reins, with which the charioteer lashed the horses of Darius' car, at intervals struck the ear, which was all the clue to pursuit.

60. But of the Macedonian left wing, directed by Parmenio, a far different fortune controulled the operations. Mazæus, with all his cavalry, in a furious charge, beset the flanks of that wing; and, now, with superior numbers, began to turn its whole line: when Parmenio dispatched horsemen after Alexander, to announce his critical situation, and that, unless he received speedy succour, he should be forced to fly. Alexander had chased the enemy a considerable way, when this unwelcome intelligence overtook him. Commanding both horse and foot to halt, he exclaimed: "The victory is "snatched out of my hands, and Darius is more "fortunate flying, than I am pursuing!"

Meanwhile, Mazæus received intimation of his sovereign's defeat; which occasioned him, though his force was greater, to press the

daunted enemy less severely. Parmenio was ignorant why his assailants sunk into languor: but he seized the opportunity; and riding up to the Thessalian horse: "Do you not perceive," said he, "that those who just now "charged us so fiercely, are halting under the "influence of a sudden panic? Doubtless, our "king's fortune, conquering for us, is felt here. "The field is strewed with slaughtered Persians. Why are you inert? Are you not a "match for those men preparing to fly?"

The probability of what he said, struck them, and recalled their firmness. Galloping to the assault, they drove against the enemy, who no longer receded by degrees, but by a quick step, so that to complete their flight, nothing was wanting than to turn their backs. As Parmenio was still uninformed what the result of the king's operations were, he held his men in. Mazæus, allowed time to retreat, repassed the Tigris, not taking the direct, but a circuitous and safer road, and reached Babylon with the remains of his routed army.

61. Darius, with a few attendants, proceeded toward the Lycus: having passed that river, he had it in contemplation to break down the bridge — — But he considered, that so many thousands of his soldiers, not yet come to the river, would fall a prey to the enemy, were the bridge destroyed: he therefore suffered it to

stand, declaring, 'That he had rather furnish 'a passage to his pursuers, than leave other fu- 'gitives destitute of one.' Having traversed a vast space, he reached Arbela about midnight.

Who can describe, who can imagine so many sports of fortune as were witnessed—the havock made of officers and soldiers; the wild haste of the vanquished; the slaughter of individuals; the massacre of whole bodies? Into a day were compressed occurrences which might fill an age. Some retreated by the shortest track; others struck into woods and bye-ways. Without leaders, infantry were intermingled with cavalry,—the armed with the unarmed,—the untouched and effective with the maimed and exhausted. But at length sympathy yielded to terror; and those who could not keep up, were abandoned to their own groans. Feverish thirst parched the fatigued and wounded, who flung themselves down in the ways, greedily drinking such water as gurgled along; repeated draughts out of slimy streams, soon produced agonizing distensions of the constipated alimentary canal. Savages that overtook them, roused them from a prone posture by fresh wounds on their limbs, relaxed and numb. Various fugitives, turning aside from the nearest brooks, because they were preoccupied, drained secluded spots of water; nor did shallow puddles escape the thirsty stragglers. Villages bordering on the road resound-

ed with the wailings of the aged boors, and of women, calling, in rustic tones, even now, on Darius as their king.

62. Alexander, when he checked his pursuit, had penetrated to the Lycus. The bridge there was choked with an immense crowd of the flying: but the greater number, as the enemy were pressing on them, plunged into the river; where, encumbered with armour, and weak through fatigue, many sunk engulfed in the whirlpools. Not the bridge only, but the ford was too narrow for them; whole divisions climbing over each other with headlong impatience to escape. Consternation makes men blind to dangers greater than the danger which they seek to avoid. Alexander's men requested, that they might follow and gall the enemy now retreating unmolested: but the leader said: "Our "weapons are grown blunt, our hands tired, "and our frames exhausted by so long a chase; "and, besides, night approaches." In truth, he was in pain for his left wing, and determined to move to its support. Soon after he had faced about, messengers from Parmenio announced, that his part of the army was also victorious.

Alexander had not, during the day, been exposed to greater peril than he was on his return to the camp. The few who attended him, elated with victory, had left military order, for they concluded all that were sur-

viving of the enemy to have fled. On a sudden appeared a corps of Persian horse, who at first halted; then, perceiving the inconsiderable force of the Macedonians, they charged them vigorously. The king advanced in front of the banners, dissembling the danger rather than despising it. Nor did his usual happiness in extre-

my skilfully; he fought valiantly. It was an act of great wisdom to disregard the loss of the baggage: the paramount object was the battle; and while it was in suspense, he acted the conqueror. He made an impression on the adverse main-body; he routed it; and—almost incredible in so impetuous a spirit—in pursuing it, he consulted prudence, rather than indulged eagerness; for had he continued the chase, while one of his divisions remained engaged, he might have been defeated through his own error, or have been indebted for rescued victory to the achievement of another. Had the returning conqueror been disconcerted, when he met unexpectedly the host of horse, he must have fled disgracefully, or have perished miserably.

Neither ought his officers to be defrauded of their merited praise; whose wounds testified their bravery. Hephæstion's arm was transfixed by a spear; Perdiccas, Cænos, and Menidas, were almost killed with arrows. If we can estimate the Macedonians of that age, we shall pronounce the king to have been worthy of his subjects, and them of Alexander the Great.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

J. Moyes, Printer, 34, Shoe Lane, Fleet Street.

ADDITIONAL NOTES; VARIED TRANSLATIONS; AND ERRATA.

Page 365. *Royal Quinquereme.*] Mr. Charnock has not, in the *History of Marine Architecture*, noticed the model, constructed by General Melvill, with seats and ports in the checker order; it is evident, from incidental remarks, that he was not satisfied with theories founded on that principle. A CONJECTURAL explanation, in all its parts intelligible, and applicable to gallies of different rates, is, however, the utmost now to be expected; because Zozimus, who flourished under the younger Theodosius, testifies, that, in his time, triremes, although commemorated by Polybius, had been so long disused, that the mode of constructing them was unknown. The following theories are derived from the *History of Marine Architecture:* not one, perhaps, furnishes a solution, yet all may contribute materials for one. The passages within crotchets are thoughts which occurred to the translator of Curtius, while endeavouring to understand the subject.

Mr. Charnock gives the first place to the opinion of M. L'Escalier.

All agree to explode the notion, that a vessel with eight tiers, each extending the entire length of the side, or with more than three tiers so extending, could be worked; because, in modern gallies, which have only one tier, and equal in length a ship of sixty-four guns, the oars, though the row-lock is as near the water as possible, are forty-four feet long.

First Objection to a disposition of the seats checkerwise:—If oars in two parallel tiers be placed as near as might consist with space to work them, it is impossible to gain room for an intermediate space by the checker order; consequently nothing is gained by this pretended discovery.

[*Answer.* If the number of oars could not be increased, the total impelling power might, because those of the interposed ports

would be larger; and by a scientific distribution, throughout the side of the ship, of oars gradually rising in magnitude and station, the motion of the floating body might be rendered altogether equable.]

Second Objection:—A checkered distribution of the stages is incompatible with the strength of the vessel, and with the necessary communication through the departments of the hull.

[*Answer.* The middle of the hold would be free; at the end of the higher seats for the rowers might be short perpendicular ladders.]

M. L'Escalier then notices the opinion, that Biremes were galleys in which two men were employed at each oar, and that in the same manner up to Octoremes, the ordinal number of the vessel's name indicated the number of rowers to each port. In opposition to this, he states that the galleasses formerly used by the Venetians, though in size much inferior to first-rate gallies of the ancients, required nine men to work each oar. He adds, a stronger refutation, that the words *Remorum ordines et remigum gradus* can bear no allusion to the number of rowers.

He then unfolds his own attempt to remove the perplexity.

The Uniremes had only one row of oars, extending between their masts, or extending perhaps the entire length of the vessel, like the modern feluccas of Barbary.

The Biremes had a tier between the masts, and a tier abaft the mainmast. [*Stricture.* This can be counted only as one tier, unless the second, without ranging over the first, were more elevated in the side of the ship, and had oars of a larger size. *Remorum* ORDINES, *et remigum* GRADUS,—the objects marked, as ancient writers attest, by the numerical distinction in gallies, may reasonably be interpreted the RATES *of the oars*, and the STATIONS *of the rowers*. As expressions applied technically have a more extensive meaning, than in common acceptation, I use the latter term, regulated by the Latin word, for "DEGREES of Elevation in the stations of the rowers."]

The Triremes had a tier before the front mast, a second between the masts, and a third abaft the mainmast. [*Stricture.* The difference between a Trireme and an Unireme is thus nominal, unless a difference is created by pursuing the principle suggested already.]

The Quadriremes had a tier a-head of the foremast, a tier be-

tween the masts, and two tiers abaft the main-mast. [*Stricture.* To place the greater portion of impelling power at the stern, is not countenanced by practice, experience, or rational theory; the double tier of rowers, if removed to the head, would not interfere with the soldiers on the platform above.]

The Quinqueremes had a tier between the masts, two tiers a-head, and two astern. [*Stricture.* Nominally, five tiers; merely a shorter, and a longer tier, unless the ports have five different elevations.]

The Octoremes had two tiers in the midship, three at the stem, and three at the stern. [*Stricture.* Nominally eight tiers, if they range in three coincident lines.]

Mr. Charnock pronounces M. L'Escalier's account to be ingenious, although far from satisfactory. He affirms, however, that were we to frame, from the best remnants of antiquity, a description of the Trireme, the table of dimensions would be ridiculous:—Thus, the perpendicular height—measured at the midship—from the upper edge of the side to the bottom of the keel, was only six feet three inches; the length from the cutwater to the stern, confined to the keel, fifty-seven feet;—including the rakes, sixty-five feet: the extreme breadth, nine feet. [*Stricture.* This table is inconsistent with almost every modern theory of the Grecian Trireme:—but which is ridiculous?]

The account by Athenæus of Ptolemy Philopater's vessel, Mr. Charnock styles incredible. It had forty ranks [rates or classes] of oars: was four hundred and twenty-feet long; fifty-seven feet, in its greatest breadth; seventy-feet in height from the tafferel to the keel. Its four rudders, or steering oars, were forty-four feet long; the largest of the impelling oars, fifty-seven feet long. The crew consisted of four thousand rowers, and three hundred—other accounts state—three thousand sailors.

Assume, Mr. Charnock proceeds to this effect, that the part of the vessel above the upper row-ports, and the part immersed in water, to amount together to thirty-six feet,—the upper row-ports will then be that distance from the water. Assume that forty tiers of oars, within this space, are disposed above each other; this gives about eleven inches for each tier,—a final refutation of the notion that multiple tiers were extended along the sides, answering in num-

ber to the class of the vessel. But the upper row-ports must have been much nearer the water than thirty-six feet, or an oar fifty-seven feet long could work with no effect. To render the upper oars availing, some have conjectured, that they moved with a rotatory motion perpendicular to the vessel's side:—Mr. Charnock objects, that an invention is thus gratuitously ascribed to the ancients of which we do not know the principle. [*Stricture.* He has not stated the absurdity, that it is inconsistent with the motion of more than one line of oars.]

Vossius, quoted at great length in the *History of Marine Architecture*, commences a dissertation on the position and management of the rowers, by observing, that the coins of the ancients afford little illustration of the figures of either the Triremę or the Liburna; because they seldom represent more than one tier of oars; and this is ascribed rather to the smallness of the coin, than the truth of the picture. On a coin, however, of the emperor Gordian, two tiers are very conspicuous. The Trajan column, and other relics of antiquity, present proofs of three tiers of oars placed obliquely above each other. Vossius adopts the opinion of Pollux, a Greek writer in the reign of Commodus, that no vessel had more than seven tiers of oars.

To discover how many benches of oars were in a ship of the largest rate, and how many rowers could conveniently sit on each, let us take, proposes Vossius, fifty-seven feet, the greatest recorded length of an oar. The best informed respecting ancient naval tactics appear to consider, that one third of the oar's length was required within board, giving nineteen feet from the fulcrum to the end of the handle. In modern gallies, the following is the arrangement. If seventeen spans of oar be within board, ten spans nearest the end are allotted to the rowers, and seven spans thence to the row-port are left vacant, as labour is of small effect near the fulcrum. Hesychius, explaining the term σπταπόδης, used by Homer for a seat seven feet in length, containing five rowers, adds, that such a seat required the handle of the oar to be twelve feet from the row-port. In modern gallies, the space allotted to each rower is about eighteen inches. In the lower tiers, as the oar decreased in size, so decreased the distance of the handle from the fulcrum, and the number of men required to work it. In the first tier an oar occupied one man; in the second, two men; the third, four; the fourth, six; the fifth, eight; the sixth and seventh, each ten men.

Vossius supposes the seats of the rowers in the same tier to have been seven feet distant from those at the next oar; the second tier, about two feet above the first, and the benches two feet four inches more advanced; the third tier about four feet above the first, and four feet eight inches more advanced; thus, benches between which two tiers intervened ranged in a perpendicular right line. [*Stricture.* The vibration of the handles of the long upper oars would sweep above seven feet: the additional space would be afforded, as the men stood to work these, if every gang dipped and pulled back in concert: yet to prevent an accident to one deranging the others, perhaps the distance between the ports ought to be fourteen feet.]

The oars of the seventh tier, Vossius supposes, were worked above the *transtra*, or transoms, beams running across the vessel, and projecting a considerable way from the sides. In the deck laid over the transoms was an aperture larger than the modern hatchway. The deck stretched beyond the side, as far as the transoms, which were supported by brackets. The row-ports of the seventh tier, were at the edge of the external deck; and, by a declination given to this deck, Vossius supposes, that they were not higher from the water than those of the sixth tier, or than about thirteen feet six inches. The men in the upper tiers stood to work the oars.

The sides of modern gallies rake upward in an angle of nearly 45 degrees; this fact countenances the supposition, that the sides of ancient gallies had the same construction; a construction which would facilitate the working of multiple tiers of oars [and by increasing the space within board upward, would permit the internal ends of the benches to range in a perpendicular line].

Meibonius describes the Roman Triremes, before an alteration made in them by Julius Cæsar, to have been one hundred and five feet long, and eleven broad; the Quadriremes, one hundred and twenty-five feet long, and thirteen broad: The Hexereme, from the deck to the lower edge of the keel, to have measured nine feet; the Octoreme eleven.

[The reader has now before him an epitome of General Melvill's checkered disposition of the row-ports; the oblique order of Vossius; the hypothesis of L'Escalier; and a sufficient notice of the theory which explains the class of an ancient vessel by the number of men stationed at each oar;—with some authentic measurements

of ancient gallies. Perhaps the termination *remes* merely imported that the vessel was navigated by rowing; and the prefixes, *Uni—Bi —Tri*, &c. indicated the rate, beginning, contrary to the series in classing modern ships, at the lowest. Thus the Trireme might have but one tier of ports, two degrees higher in the side than the Unireme. The admission of two entire, or three entire, rows of ports, with varieties of elevation, and a gradual augmentation in the size of the oars, might competently explain all the intermediate and largest rates; and perhaps such a distribution of the seats as General Melvill has suggested, is a resource unnecessary below the Septireme, and that of Vossius below the Decereme.]

VARIED TRANSLATIONS.

Pa. 419, *l.* 23.] Three thousand talents of gold.

A conjectural reading to make it uniform with p. 421, l. 4.

Pa. 425, *l.* 12.] Arbelitæ.

That is, Inhabitants of the district of Arbela. The Translator proposes to substitute this for *Belitæ*, of which a satisfactory explation can scarcely be given.

Pa. 435, *l.* 7.] Balacrus directed the Phrygians who had recently acceded to the alliance.

A conjectural emendation of Freinshemius.

CORRIGENDA.

Pa. 43, *l.* 6. *Ten thousand talents—£2,250,000.*] *One thousand talents, £225,000.*

Pa. 45, *l.* 16. *Cappadocia?*] It may be reasonable to assent to the opinion, that the passage in Justin upon which this is founded, is corrupted.

Pa. 245, *l.* penult. *Ptolemy.*] *Ptolemy, a subaltern in the body-guard?* It is evident that he should be distinguished from the son of Philip, and from the son of Seleucus mentioned p. 321, note. Arrian, i. 23, states that he was of the body-guard. The same author, vi. 28, represents the original number of the body-guards to have been seven. The Translator supposes, that there were seven, and afterward eight companies of body-guards, and that the eight distinguished leaders mentioned in Arrian, vi. 28, as the only body-guards, were captains of that illustrious corps—See INDEX, *Macedonian Army.*

Pa. 256, *l.* 15.] Three years afterwards, when the conspirators with Philotas were executed, he was arraigned and precipitately killed, on account of the affinity of his crime.

ERRATA.

xxxiv,	20	Polynæus	Polyænus.
153,	8	from having	for having.
198,	3	Lybia	Lydia.
207,	13	Thessalonians	Thessalians.
303,	2d note	Syria	Assyria.
395,	2, and note, 6	Trogdolytes	Troglodytes.
444,	16	S. 51	S. 56.
452,	16	nothing was	nothing more was.

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
New Delhi
LIBRARY

(930)

N.C

Cpl
2/21/4/26

Central Archaeological Library,
NEW DELHI.

14162.

Call No. 938.07 / Ruf.

Author— Rufus, Q.C

Title— The History of the Life and Reign of Alexander the Great. Vol-I

Borrower No.	Date of Issue	Date of Return

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book clean and moving.